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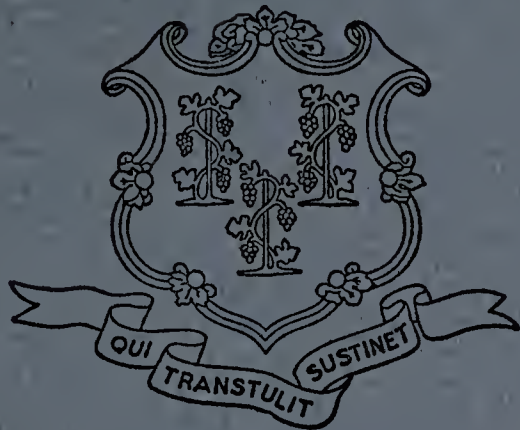
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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
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COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

XLI

*The Beginnings of
Roman Catholicism in Connecticut*

AUSTIN FRANCIS MUNICH

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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XLI

*The Beginnings of
Roman Catholicism in Connecticut*

AUSTIN FRANCIS MUNICH

I

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IT is well known that, in its early religious history, the colony of Connecticut was thoroughly Protestant in origin, sentiment, and persuasion, but it is not so well known that Congregationalism was organized in town and in state as an established church. There was some degree of union of church and state in Connecticut from the opening years of the colony onward into statehood up to the year 1818. That there should have appeared any Roman Catholicism at all in such a territory where Puritan membership in the established church was almost a prerequisite for the exercise of civic privileges is a matter of surprise.

The beginnings of the Roman Catholic Church in Connecticut differed from the origins of the same church in such states as Maryland, where English Catholics were the original settlers; as Michigan, Missouri, and Louisiana, where the earliest inhabitants were French Catholics; as Florida, California, and New Mexico, where the earliest settlers were Catholic missionaries sent in the wake of the

Spanish explorers. The religious situation in Connecticut differed radically from that encountered in the states formed from the Northwest Territory and the Louisiana Purchase, territories which were mainly settled after there had been written into the Constitution of the United States the bill of rights whereby "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This opportunity for equal religious liberty did not exist in Connecticut where the condition was that of an established church, a Standing Order, a Puritan tradition that had grown up with the government and templed the hills with Congregational meeting houses. A history of almost two hundred years of Puritan régime preceded the purchase of the first Roman Catholic church within the state. Thus the beginnings of Catholicism in Connecticut were against formidable odds in priority of time and in priority of time-strengthened misconceptions of what Catholicism really was. Rarely, if ever, did the Connecticut Yankee see a Catholic. Rarely, if ever, was his information of Catholicism first-hand. Even as late as the nineteenth century there were whole communities that had never laid eyes on a Catholic priest.

Although the English immigrants to Connecticut were victims of persecution in England, they themselves lapsed into intolerance when clothed with power in the New World. Their intentions may have been very sincere, based as they were on a theology of divine predestination and human depravity, and exemplified in the severity of their moral code and the length of their church services. Yet their severity of mind towards those who held religious opinions contrary to their own appears, in our backward glance from this age, as an unwarranted trait of a new religion in a supposedly free land. The Standing Order of Congregationalism became the dominant party

and by means of the civil power which they held caused those who differed from them to feel the weight of their Calvinistic laws. It was not an unusual colonial occurrence for persons to be taken into custody, brought to trial, and fined because they attempted to go to a religious meeting that was not such as met the approval of the Standing Order. Evidence of Catholic settlement within the colony is rare, but not so rare are the profuse pronouncements in personal letters and official state and church documents that the presence of Catholics was both undesirable and proscribed.

It is interesting to consider the viewpoint of a modern Englishman on the Puritan tradition. "Multitudes of people in England and America think of the *Mayflower* as an origin or archetype. Perhaps it would be an exaggeration to say that they think the *Mayflower* discovered America. They do really talk as if the *Mayflower* populated America. Above all, they talk as if the establishment of New England had been the first formative example of the expansion of England. They believe that English expansion was a Puritan experiment; and that an expansion of Puritan ideas was also the expansion of what have been claimed as English ideas, especially ideas of liberty. The Puritans of New England were champions of religious freedom, seeking to found a newer and freer state beyond the sea, and thus becoming the origin and model of modern democracy. All this betrays a lack of exactitude. Such a *Mayflower* is not merely a fable, but is much more false than fables generally are. The revolt of the Puritans against the Stuarts was really a revolt against religious toleration. I do not say the Puritans were never persecuted by their opponents; but I do say, to their great honor and glory, that the Puritans never descended to the hypocrisy of pretending for a moment

that they did not mean to persecute their opponents. And in the main their quarrel with the Stuarts was that the Stuarts would not persecute those opponents enough.”¹ Thus Gilbert Keith Chesterton, the British publicist, succinctly punctures one of the widely current misconceptions of Puritanism.

Although it was not until 1829 that the first priest resided in Connecticut, previous to that date there had been visits of Catholic clergymen to various towns of the state. As early as 1651 the Reverend Gabriel Druillettes, S. J., came to New Haven as an envoy from New France to effect agreements with the colonial authorities. However, neither trade nor military pacts resulted from the ambassadorial visit.

II

OVER one hundred years later the French Neutrals from Acadia constituted the first importation of Catholics in considerable numbers into the colony. The cruel and inhuman evacuation of Nova Scotia was carried out by order of the British government and instructions were sent to deport a certain proportion of these French inhabitants to Connecticut. These exiles were anything but welcome in New England; their support was an uninvited burden and their presence, by reason of national and religious animosity, was a vexation to say the least. Four hundred of the unfortunates were dispatched to the colony and distributed to fifty different towns. In receiving these innocent victims, the colonial assembly evidenced a humanitarian spirit in directing their support as though they were inhabitants of such towns and in assigning them to townships so that no one family of them be separated. Some towns extended the hand of

¹G. K. Chesterton, *Fads and fancies*, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1923.

human fellowship while others violated the letter and spirit of the assembly's resolution. In every case the tiny nucleus of French Neutrals experienced a bitter exile from relatives, priestly ministrations, and homeland.

Irish names occur early in the town records of Connecticut. The list of settlers in New Haven from the year 1639 to 1645 contains twenty-one names that link association with the Emerald Isle. The Reverend James H. O'Donnell in his *History of the diocese of Hartford* gives a compilation of Irish names up to the year 1805. It is not easy to establish with certainty the immediate Catholic ancestry of these early settlers since there were also among the immigrants Protestants from the North of Ireland. Following the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland, shiploads of Irish men and women were deported to the British possessions in order that they might be used in the development of the natural resources of the colonies. From the southern counties this was an enforced deportation and some victims of this compulsory plan were transported to Connecticut as indentured servants.

The voluntary migration of Irish Catholics began in 1762. At that time no recourse remained to the peasantry but emigration. Their arrival in the American plantations in the period immediately preceding the Revolutionary War had no tendency to diminish or counteract the hostile sentiments against Britain which were daily gathering force in America. Connecticut, however, was not too hospitable an outlook for the incoming Irishman.

Even the Scotch-Irish from the North were the objects of discrimination and aversion. In 1722 some residents of Voluntown protested against Samuel Dorrance, an Irish-born Presbyterian minister, as responsible for bringing unwholesome Irish inhabitants into the region. Yet in the era of the struggle for independence from the mother

country, the Irish, irrespective of their creed, were welcomed into the ranks of the volunteer army.

III

IT is one of the strange facts of history that the Revolutionary War served as an instrument to purge the body politic in the American colonies of anti-Catholic bigotry. France, particularly, was the purging leaven. The France of 1780 was a nation officially Catholic, with its monarch and the majority of its population professing that faith. When that country espoused our cause, it sent generals and infantry, munitions and money, supplies and fleets. Without the coöperation of that rich ally, the Revolution could hardly have been a success.

Congregational Connecticut experienced a broadening contact when four thousand eight hundred French soldiers, besides fifty-four officers, participated in the marches through the state. Up to this time Catholics were despised as idolaters and inferiors; but when the well-disciplined French troops camped here, marched into the towns, distributed their silver in exchange for services, and traversed the state in the final campaign, the townsmen first came into contact with adherents of that creed in large numbers. The arrival of these troops in Connecticut was an important event in opening the eyes of the puritanical settlers to view Catholicism as it really was in the living.

Rochambeau's army was described by witnesses as magnificent in appearance and superb in discipline. The soldiers committed no acts of plunder but paid liberally for the supplies furnished them. Their encampment in ten towns of the state was characterized by generosity and cordiality, by culture and good breeding. The gay nature of the French staged several picnic parties and

dances on town greens, thereby interspersing the hardships of war with enjoyment of innocent recreation.

For six months one thousand infantry and five hundred mounted hussars were encamped at Lebanon, the home of Governor Trumbull. "A gay June for Lebanon was that!" reflected a town historian, "when these six brilliant French regiments with their gorgeous banners and martial bands were daily displayed on this spacious and lovely village green." Besides the long stay at Lebanon, this legion of the Duke of Lauzun made six other encampments within the state.

The names of five army chaplains are recorded among the distinguished members of the French forces. Following their obligation as priests, they must have offered the sacrifice of the Mass, although the records are annoyingly silent about this great act of worship, so accustomed were the chaplains to fulfill this function of their ministry regularly wherever they were.

In the final march of Rochambeau's forces westward across the states, the arrival in Hartford happened to be on Saturday and arrangements were made to stay over Sunday before continuing the march. Abbé Robin was the chaplain with the troops and on Sunday it was his duty to say Mass so that the soldiers might assist at the holy sacrifice. The service was held in the South Meadows now within the region of Colt Park, near where the Memorial Church of the Good Shepherd now stands. An eye-witness of this open-air Mass of June, 1781, related the event to one of the early resident priests at Hartford. There is a tradition that this was the first offering of the sacrifice of the Mass in the state of Connecticut.

It is interesting to read what the Marquis de Chastellux, a major general in the French army under the Count de Rochambeau, said of the Irish. He made three tours

through Connecticut on his travels. His observation here and in the Middle Atlantic states led him to remark: "An Irishman, the instant he sets foot on American ground, becomes *ipso facto* an American; this was uniformly the case during the whole of the late war. On more than one imminent occasion the members of the Continental Congress owed their existence and America probably its preservation to the fidelity and firmness of the Irish."

In the Lexington Alarm List from Connecticut, fifty-six Irish names occur. In the regiments of 1775 under Generals Wooster, Spencer, and Putnam, fifty-eight such names occur. Fifty-six Irish names are among those who were transferred from state regiments, subject only to Connecticut control, to Continental regiments under the authority of the Continental commanders. Two hundred and ninety names appear in the nine regiments that composed the Connecticut Line which formed with the other State Lines one grand Continental Line. These regiments were raised for continuous service to the end of the war. All Celtic names found in the *Record of service of Connecticut men in the War of the Revolution* may not represent Catholics; yet it is indisputable that a goodly number of them do.

For recognition of Catholic participation in the Revolutionary War we need but go to the written expressions of the commander-in-chief of the Continental army and the first president of our beloved Union. In his reply to an address from the Roman Catholics of the United States Washington averred, "I presume your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government—or the important assistance which they received from a nation [France] in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

IV

AFTER the Revolutionary War, the Anglican Church in America severed its institutional dependence upon England and became the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. Dr. Samuel Seabury of Connecticut was chosen the first Episcopalian bishop within the confines of the United States. He had gone to Scotland where he sought and obtained consecration at Aberdeen in 1784 from three bishops in the non-juring succession. The coming to the United States of a bishop claiming spiritual jurisdiction over Episcopalian residents in the new republic was the first acceptance and recognition of hierarchy within the thirteen original states. The event served as a precedent for the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States. Before this time the few priests who were laboring in the Atlantic states experienced dangers that attended the priestly ministrations among a population largely anti-Catholic, and expressed themselves as fearful whether the United States government would permit the presence of a bishop in the country. Penal laws were still in force against Romanists in most of the states and the prevailing sentiment could certainly be interpreted as adverse to any episcopal jurisdiction.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction for Catholic priests was originally dependent upon the vicar apostolic of London inasmuch as the colonies were British territory. In view of the new status of independence, in 1784, the Reverend John Carroll (1735-1815) was appointed by Pope Pius VI as superior of the missions in the United States. In 1789 he was named Bishop of Baltimore, and was consecrated in the chapel of Thomas Weld at Lulworth Castle, England, by the Right Reverend Charles Walmesley,

vicar apostolic of London, August 15, 1790. The following year he appears to have made a passing stop in New London, Connecticut. By strange coincidence here the Episcopalian Bishop Seabury had his church. Thomas Allen, proprietor of the City Coffee House, published the following in the Marine List of 1791: "Sailed, Monday, June 20, Packet Hull for New York, with whom went passenger the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Bishop of the United States of America."

But the Catholicity of Connecticut in 1790, and continuing even through four decades, was an uncemented scattering of inhabitants without church or priest—pioneer families struggling not only to gain an honest livelihood amid post-war depression but also to maintain the faith of their fathers amid unsympathetic neighbors.

V

IN Connecticut during the early national period, the Federalist party and Congregationalism went hand in hand. During the decade from 1790 to 1800, there was practically no political life in the modern sense. Elections were not contested. The poll was exceedingly small, for there was no interest which would bring out the electorate. The Republican organization and campaign for Jefferson educated the people to use the ballot and not to leave the business of governing to a professional class. Year by year, in the course of organization, the members of the various Protestant sects who were dissatisfied with Congregational state monopoly banded themselves together in the Democratic-Republican party. It was natural for any Catholics in the state to align themselves with this liberal movement. The new party ticket in 1816 was labeled the American Toleration and Reform Ticket. This party was successful in the election of the following

year when Connecticut cast its heaviest vote and Oliver Wolcott won the governorship. It is probable that nearly every freeman voted, yet in the 26,774 votes cast, only ten per cent of the white inhabitants were represented. This low vote would suggest the number of free residents who, under the existing laws, were disfranchised, for later under full manhood suffrage the total vote approximated twenty per cent of the population.

For the purpose of framing a new state constitution, the general assembly of May, 1818, passed a resolution calling for a constituent convention and requiring the freemen to meet on July 4 to elect in town meeting the usual number of representatives to the convention which was to convene in Hartford on the fourth Wednesday in August. The majority of the representatives chosen were inspired with the purpose of securing toleration, and so were well prepared to draft a constitution which would be acceptable to their people. It is the third section of the bill of rights in the constitution adopted by that body which embodied the desired principle: "The exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this state; provided, that the right hereby declared and established shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state." Section four declared that, "No preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship." Thus the year 1818 brought religious liberty to the formerly Calvinistic commonwealth of Connecticut.

The few Catholics in the state at that time must have supported this movement. It is an historical fact that not until after the adoption of this constitution was there a single Catholic Church in Connecticut or a ministering

Catholic priest residing within its limits. Like the presidential term of Monroe, the new constitution ushered in an Era of Good Feeling. Now the possibility of organization and growth of Roman Catholicism in Connecticut was no longer a legally handicapped undertaking.

VI

It fits in chronologically at this time to give an account of the Barber family. The conversion of this family presented a remarkable series of spiritual experiences. Although the scenes of these conversions took place beyond Connecticut confines, the family was originally a Connecticut one which, like many others, had migrated to new surroundings on new ventures. In the town of Simsbury, the Barber family had been established since the early days of its settlement. In the fourth generation from the American progenitor came Daniel Barber (1756-1834), the great-grandson of the builder of the first Congregational meeting house in Simsbury. He was born and educated in Congregationalism of the strict Puritanic order, which was at that time the prevailing religion in Connecticut. He continued in that faith and worship until he was twenty-seven years of age. The first occurrence which caused him to examine the grounds of authority in the ministry was a challenge given by a neighboring Episcopalian, alleging that his Congregational minister was destitute of that sacerdotal authority without which no man could be a proper minister of Jesus Christ. As he was taught, Barber believed that one and another, both learned and unlearned, as the case might be, were directly and spiritually called to the work; and that call was of itself a kind of investiture of the sacerdotal character and office.

The Episcopalian put into Barber's hands a small

volume containing the most convincing reasonings in support of the Apostolic Order and the succession of the real priesthood. After reading and thinking, he took the book to two Congregational ministers to obtain a refutation. No satisfaction resulted. One of the clergymen returned the book with the statement, "There has already been enough said and written on that subject." The other remarked, "Reverend Mr. ————— by rejecting your request, has done the best thing he could; for had he undertaken to interfere with those arguments, he would very soon have brought an old house about his ears." On another occasion, the Episcopalian neighbor succeeded publicly in worsting the Congregational minister by reasoning down the foundation of Congregational ordination and defending the doctrine of apostolic succession. Daniel Barber then began to reflect whether true military characters engaged for their king or country would so tamely suffer their commissions to be trifled with. After a year of reflection, he at length became resolute and bade formal adieu to Congregationalism and entered the Episcopal church.

At the age of thirty Daniel Barber was ordained a deacon by Bishop Seabury in Middletown, Connecticut, and afterwards a priest by Bishop Provoost at Schenectady. He married Mrs. Chloe Case, daughter of Judge Owen of Simsbury, and removed to Claremont, New Hampshire, where he was rector of the Episcopal Church, with the provision of a comfortable support, which position he held for twenty-four years.

It was not until Daniel Barber reached the age of sixty, after long years of service in the Episcopal Church, that doubt and suspicion arose in his mind concerning the correctness and validity of Episcopalian ordination. The occasion was a chance reading of an article concerning the

history and circumstances of the consecration of Barlow in the reign of Henry VIII. The doubt touched upon a subject keenly felt since the same difficulty had caused his rejection of Congregationalism in his youth. After serious reflection, much reading, and consultation with neighboring ministers and with Bishop Cheverus of Boston, he was finally convinced of the truth of the claims of Rome. At the age of sixty-two, the Reverend Daniel Barber bade farewell to his assembled congregation at Claremont. It was a severe trial to his fine and tender emotions after a service of twenty-four years in peace and harmony. As he spoke for the last time from a Protestant pulpit his texts were from the Apostles' Creed and from St. Paul: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." He spent his remaining years as a devout layman, promoting the Catholic cause. He published a pamphlet, *Catholic worship and piety explained and recommended in sundry letters to a very dear friend and others* (Washington, 1821), and a narrative, including his participation in the Revolutionary War, entitled *History of my own times* (3 vols., Washington, 1827-1832).

Daniel Barber's entrance into the Catholic Church had been preceded a short time by the conversions to that faith of his sister, Abigail, wife of Noah Tyler; of his son, Virgil; and of other relatives. About this time William Tyler, the son of Abigail and nephew of Daniel Barber, entered a school conducted by his older cousin, Virgil Barber. There a vocation to the priesthood was developed and upon the completion of the scholastic course he went to the home of Bishop Fenwick in Boston where he studied theology under the private tutelage of the bishop. After being ordained to the priesthood, the Reverend William Tyler served at the Boston cathedral and later

was appointed the vicar general of the diocese. This William Tyler was to become the first Catholic bishop of Hartford.

The first New England nun was of Puritan stock. She bore the family name of Fanny Allen and was a daughter of Ethan Allen, the famous hero of Ticonderoga. Who among the Connecticut-born was the first to be clothed in a religious habit and devote her life to poverty, chastity, and obedience? The personage who holds this distinction was, surprisingly, a married woman and a convert to Catholicism. Jerusha Booth (1789-1860) was born in Newtown, Connecticut, and at a youthful age married a recently ordained Anglican minister, Virgil Horace Barber (1782-1847), the son of Daniel Barber. Through reading the life of St. Francis Xavier, the intimate convictions of both led them to seek further knowledge of the church that produced him. After much study and sacrifice of position, both made their profession of belief in the Roman Catholic Church to Father Fenwick in New York. After their reception into the Church in 1816, the strange workings of grace seemed to exact a further self-renunciation of them. Although the mother of five children, Jerusha Barber experienced the call to evangelical perfection, a call which was further enhanced by her husband's ardent desire to exercise priestly functions. By special papal permission, she was allowed to enter a Visitation convent and Virgil Barber was admitted into the Jesuit novitiate. Mrs. Virgil (Booth) Barber, known in religion as Sister Mary Augustine, taught in the first free Catholic school in the District of Columbia. Over her signature the first prospectus of 1819 appeared. Her example was one of remarkable sanctity. She trained teachers in the community at Georgetown and assisted in the promotion of Catholic teaching in the

convents at Kaskaskia, St. Louis, and Mobile. She lived to the age of seventy-one and had the consolation of seeing all her children espouse the religious life—three of her daughters becoming Ursuline nuns, one affiliating herself with the Visitation Order, and her son taking the vows of the Society of Jesus. A recent dissertation on the Barber family concludes: “For all who are gifted with vision for the supernatural the biography of the Barbers will hold an appeal. Theirs is the most glorious spiritual romance in the annals of the Church in the United States.”

VII

THE early episcopal jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll extended over the whole United States. In response to his request to Rome to have his immense and impossible diocese divided, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Kentucky, were made suffragan sees to the archbishopric of Baltimore in 1808. Connecticut was placed under the jurisdiction of Boston. The first New England bishop, Jean Louis Lefebvre de Cheverus (1768–1836, bishop of Boston, 1810–1823), paid a visit to the Catholics of Hartford and there is a tradition that he said Mass in the hall of representatives in the Old State House. His journey through the state included stops at New Haven, where he said Mass at the home of a French professor at Yale. At New London, the fort served as the place of worship.

The journey of the Very Reverend John Powers, vicar general of New York, is characteristic of the hardships and antipathies of the time. During the construction of the Enfield Canal at Windsor Locks, an Irishman was seriously injured and wanted the consolation of receiving the last sacraments from a priest. The nearest priest was

in New York City and Father Powers answered the call. The Catholic was cared for and the priest began his long journey back to the metropolis. Upon reaching New Haven, he requested the use of the Protestant Seaman's Chapel at the Long Wharf for the celebration of Mass. He was turned away with the rebuff: "We have no Popery in New Haven and we don't want any."

The successor of Bishop Cheverus was Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick (1782-1846), a descendant of the Catholic founders of Maryland. Severely trying were the administrative duties of Bishop Fenwick of Boston. His jurisdiction extended over all the New England states. The scanty Catholic population was widely scattered, the number of priests totally inadequate, the means of travel time-consuming and physically exhausting. In 1828, he could spare only one priest, the Reverend Robert D. Woodley, for all Connecticut and Rhode Island. This priest came to Hartford and celebrated Mass in the house of John Mulligan at 34 Village Street. The following year found him again in Hartford where the pastorless little community had started a weekly religious paper, *The Catholic press*. Twice during the month of July, 1829, Father Woodley returned to Hartford, the occasion of the second visit being a reception to Bishop Fenwick, who came for his first episcopal visitation. The bishop's immediate purpose in coming was to complete the purchase of a church which the Episcopalians had outgrown. The new edifice—the present Christ Church Cathedral—was to be dedicated in November and the old one was on the market. One of the first duties of Bishop Fenwick was to inspect the new church. It was there that the two bishops met—Bishop Brownell, who was giving up the old edifice, and Bishop Fenwick, who was eager to acquire it. Monsignor Duggan's *History* records the conversation. It was

a pleasant meeting of gentlemen. There was no tinge of bitterness in the quips that passed between them. "Well, Bishop Fenwick," said Bishop Brownell, "as we have a fine new church building we will let you have the old one." To which Bishop Fenwick replied, "Yes, and you have a fine new religion, and we will keep the old one."

The wooden church was purchased for five hundred dollars, the organ for four hundred dollars. Property across the street on the corner of Main and Talcott streets was bought for twelve hundred dollars. The old Episcopal church was moved across the street and after remodeling became Holy Trinity Church, the first Catholic church in Connecticut. The week following Bishop Fenwick's visit, the first Catholic Sunday School was held in the printing rooms of *The Catholic press*.

When an Episcopalian opponent, through the *Connecticut observer*, attempted to pick a quarrel with Bishop Fenwick, his rejoinder was: "Our views are altogether pacific. We wish, if possible, to live on good terms with all our neighbors, and especially those of the Episcopalian communion. They have generally treated us kindly, and we shall endeavor to prove to them that their kindness has not been thrown away, and that we too can be kind."

After remaining for a full week, Bishop Fenwick returned to Boston with hopeful prospects for religion in Hartford, and the intention to assign a resident priest there. *The Catholic press* of August 29, 1829, chronicled his advent thus: "The Reverend Bernard O'Cavanaugh arrived in this city on the 26th inst., being appointed pastor of the Roman Catholic congregation in Hartford, and missionary for the State of Connecticut in general, by the Right Reverend Benedict Fenwick, Bishop of Boston."

The story of the first church in New Haven opened

with a calamity. Property had been bought on the corner of York and Davenport streets for the small sum of one hundred dollars. Father James McDermot, the first pastor, went ahead with the construction of a frame building in Gothic style. The Feast of the Ascension, May 8, 1834, was set for the day of dedication. Bishop Fenwick had arrived and dressed for the ceremony. When he and the assistant priests came to the altar, the gallery behind gave way and crashed with its occupants upon the people massed below. The horrible disaster, due to a departure from the plans given to the carpenter, caused two deaths and several injuries. The postponed ceremony was held the following Sunday and dedicated Christ's Church.

The third church in the state was erected in Bridgeport in 1843 at the corner of Arch Street and Washington Avenue. This was a brick structure under the patronage of St. James.

VIII

At the fifth provincial council of Baltimore in 1843, Bishop Fenwick reminded his brethren of the hierarchy that age was creeping upon him and that the requirements of his see were multiplying and urged the division of his episcopal territory. The request was granted by Rome and the see of Hartford was established with jurisdiction over Connecticut and Rhode Island. As a suitable incumbent for the new bishopric, Bishop Fenwick proposed the Reverend William Tyler (1806-1849).² Father Tyler received the bulls of his appointment and was consecrated in the cathedral of Baltimore March 17, 1844.

In those days the Hartford diocese could not boast of a formidable Catholic population. According to the census of the state which Bishop Fenwick took in 1835, just one

² See above, p. 14.

hundred years before the celebration of this Tercentenary year, there were only 720 Catholics in the state and only two wooden church buildings, and only two resident priests serving in the state. Obviously, this Catholic population was only of mustard-seed significance in comparison with the widely organized Congregational societies which had already 229 church buildings in the state.

Bishop Fenwick accompanied the Hartford ordinary to his new see. On April 14, 1844, he was formally installed in Holy Trinity Church. The pastor, the Reverend John Brady, celebrated Mass and Bishop Fenwick delivered the installation discourse. The appearance of the new bishop is described by his physician, Dr. Edward Le Prohon, in these words: "At my first view of the worthy prelate I recognized in him the lymphatic temperament which dominated him, a delicate, white skin, narrow shoulders, high stature, about six feet, the body long and thin, a well-featured countenance, sweet and calm, the cheeks slightly roseate, and constantly wearing spectacles, though he had not yet reached his forty-fifth year. The entire external appearance of Mgr. Tyler showed symptoms of latent consumption; Mgr. Tyler himself felt the need of taking care of his feeble health the better to exercise the laborious functions of the foundation of a new diocese. Mgr. Tyler's appearance took everybody's attention. He bore the expression of sanctity on his countenance, the seal of the man of God was to be seen on it."

The day after the installation, Bishop Tyler went to Middletown to inspect the church there which was then nearing completion. In 1848, he visited Stonington for the purpose of making a fervent appeal for funds towards the erection of a church there. Only \$29.25 was amassed as the nucleus of the building fund on this occasion.

After making a careful census of his diocese, the bishop discovered that there were more Catholics in Rhode Island than in Connecticut. The city of Providence had a population of 2,000 Catholics out of 23,000 inhabitants. Hartford's population was smaller, 600 Catholics out of 13,000 residents. Accordingly he petitioned Rome that his see might be moved to the Rhode Island capital, in order that he might be near the greater number of his people.

In Providence his episcopal residence was a mere shanty. Poverty stood in the way of any building program. His own labors were similar to those of a missionary priest. In a request sent abroad for financial help, he described the diocesan situation: "There are ten or twelve places where there are small congregations of Catholics, whom we occasionally visit to afford them the benefits of religion. I have with me in the whole diocese only six priests to assist me in administering to the wants of all these. So you will easily perceive that we are in want of zealous clergymen; and we have little prospect of any addition to our numbers soon." In acknowledgment of a benefaction of valuable aid from the Leopold Society of Vienna, he confessed: "When I was appointed to this diocese, I was overwhelmed with the sad prospect before me, and I knew not where to look for assistance."

Not long was the amiable and exemplary bishop able to stand the hardships and difficulties of episcopal journeys. The last time he attempted to say Mass was on Pentecost Sunday, 1849, but after vesting he found himself too weak to ascend the steps of the altar. He contented himself with hearing Mass that day. Then he lay down and never rose from his bed again. He received the last sacraments from a friend of his boyhood, Bishop Fitzpatrick, and then passed to his reward. A commen-

tator, Archbishop Dowling, said of him: "The poverty of his life, his unassuming manner, his strong good sense, his simple life, so near his people, greatly endeared him to his flock." Bishop Fitzpatrick, his friend and colleague, wrote: "His talents were not brilliant nor was his learning extensive, though quite sufficient. But he possessed great moderation of character, sound judgment, uncommon prudence and much firmness."

IX

BISHOP TYLER'S successor, the Right Reverend Bernard O'Reilly (1803-1856), was installed in the cathedral at Providence, November 17, 1850. Upon receiving the news of his choice for the episcopal dignity, Father O'Reilly said: "I will, God helping, labor faithfully in this awful office. I have nothing at heart but God's glory in it." In the Connecticut portion of his diocese there were only five churches and seven priests. The great influx, however, since 1845, of immigrants from Ireland was rapidly enlarging the opportunities for the Catholic Church in Connecticut and increasing the demands for its services. Bishop O'Reilly's principal concern, therefore, was to obtain clergymen and teachers to crystallize the religious life of his subjects. He met this problem in a threefold manner: by establishing a theological seminary at his own residence, by seeking candidates for the Connecticut missions at All Hallows College, Dublin, and by inducing the Sisters of Mercy to pioneer the way for Catholic education in his diocese.

The Sisters of Mercy had been organized in Dublin in 1831. The first American foundation of the order was at Pittsburg. Bishop O'Reilly succeeded in obtaining sisters for the city of Providence in 1851 and the following year, in answer to requests from the Reverend John Brady of

St. Patrick's, Hartford, and the Reverend Edward O'Brien of St. Mary's, New Haven, four nuns were sent to each city. At Hartford, a school was opened in the basement of St. Patrick's Church and in New Haven, on the very day of their arrival, two orphan girls presented themselves at the convent seeking a home.

The building of the New York and New Haven Railroad had brought many laborers, principally Irish, along its route. A committee of Catholics from Norwalk had petitioned their bishop for a resident pastor. Assigned to the post from Hartford, the Reverend John Brady began the erection of a church there and of another in Stamford. Protestant townsmen in Norwalk contributed towards the church fund and evidenced good will towards their new fellow citizens.

The year 1851 witnessed the formation of seven parishes. Plans were pursued in New London and in Stonington to complete church structures there. The Ames Iron Works of Falls Village employed eight hundred men and favored a new resident priest. Edward Ryan of Norfolk donated property for ecclesiastical use in that town. A Protestant of Derby, Anson Phelps, set a record of brotherly friendship by presenting the Catholics with an excellent site for their proposed church. In Danbury the Universalist Church was purchased. The census by the first pastor in Norwich revealed three thousand Catholic dwellers, mostly Irish immigrants, recently arrived.

Bishop O'Reilly's episcopacy of five years witnessed an increase in Connecticut of twenty-two churches, twelve priests, two orphan asylums, a parochial school in Hartford and two in New Haven. Just as the theory of education in the earliest colonial schools of Connecticut was religious in content, purpose, and guidance, the theory of

Catholic education was applied similarly through parochial schools. The important practical difference appears, however, in the source of financial support. In the original instance, under the régime of the established church, Congregational schools drew upon governmental resources. In the present instance, religious education has succeeded in thriving on voluntary offerings that are given through generous personal self-sacrifice.

Strange was the death of Hartford's second bishop. On a return trip to the United States from Liverpool, the steamer *Pacific*, on which the bishop had taken passage, disappeared at sea and no survivor lived to tell its story. After waiting almost five months for some report, the funeral services were conducted for the deceased bishop over an empty catafalque in the Providence cathedral.

X

THE Right Reverend Francis Patrick MacFarland (1819-1874), a native of Franklin, Pennsylvania, became the third bishop of Hartford. During his term of office, the Catholic population increased to such an extent that a division of the diocese was effected in 1872, and Providence became a new and separate see with jurisdiction over Rhode Island. The see of Hartford became coterminous with the state of Connecticut and the capital city welcomed its bishop to permanent residence. The clergy contributed \$16,224 towards the purchase of a dwelling for him on the corner of Woodland and Collins streets. No less generously did the laity contribute \$39,905 to the purchase of a site for a cathedral. Carefully and quietly the bishop examined the various eligible locations for a cathedral. Finally he selected the old Morgan homestead, a lot of between three and four acres on Farmington Avenue, belonging to Major James Goodwin, and pur-

chased the same in July, 1872, at a price of \$70,000. The first building erected on the property was the mother-house convent of the Sisters of Mercy, the chapel of which served as the procathedral.

On June 30, 1866, the following act was made part of the statute law of Connecticut: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened: Sec. 1. That the Bishop and Vicar-General of the diocese of Hartford, together with the pastor and two laymen of any Roman Catholic church or congregation in the State of Connecticut, upon complying with the requirements of this law, shall be, and are hereby constituted, a body corporate, with power to sue and be sued, to purchase, hold and convey real and personal property, and to enjoy all other rights and franchises incident to bodies corporate in the State of Connecticut." Under this statute, the Catholic Church in Connecticut has continued to hold its property and conduct its financial affairs in a way that accords with its own traditions and yet that harmonizes substantially with the legal provisions affecting the Protestant churches of the state.

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During Bishop MacFarland's episcopacy occurred the Civil War. Six hundred citizens of Irish extraction and Catholic faith formed the "Fighting Ninth" Regiment, recruited at New Haven and dispatched to Ship Island, off Mississippi, to aid in the campaign to gain control of the great river waterway of the South. One of the first Union officers to give his life was a Hartford Catholic, Captain James H. Ward, killed in a naval action on the Potomac river shortly after the outbreak of the war. The funeral was held from St. Patrick's Church, and his body was laid to rest in the Old North Cemetery.

Two army chaplains in the Civil War later held clerical

positions of distinction in the Hartford diocese. The Very Reverend Leo da Saracena, chaplain to the Ninth Connecticut Regiment, became pastor of the Franciscan parish of Winsted and surrounding towns. The other, the Reverend Lawrence McMahon, who served with a Massachusetts regiment, became the fifth bishop of Hartford.³ Bishop McMahon and Father Leo ever remained intimate and devoted friends.

A unique, historic school situation is worthy of record here. In 1867, the Reverend Matthew Hart, pastor of St. Patrick's, New Haven, placed his school under the New Haven board of education. So satisfactory has this arrangement been that the plan still continues at Hamilton School with mutual relations of harmonious achievement by both the Sisters of Mercy and the local board.

XI

CONNECTICUT's industrial era may be audibly symbolized by steamboat whistle and factory whistle; the one calling the emigrants from European shores, the other inviting laborers, machinists, and skilled workmen to set the wheels of industry to production. Many French Canadians came to the towns of eastern Connecticut where cotton mills made use of the streams for water power. Hardware and metal manufacturing in Hartford, New Britain, and the Naugatuck valley beckoned an influx of German, Polish, and Lithuanian immigrants. Large numbers of Italians centered in New Haven and Slovak groups located in Bridgeport.

Is it not generally conceded that traits of courage and energetic ambition motivate the emigrant to seek oppor-

³ Following Bishop MacFarland, the incumbents of the Hartford diocese have been Thomas Galberry (1833-1878), 1876-1878; Lawrence S. McMahon (1835-1893), 1879-1893; Michael Tierney (1839-1908), 1894-1908; John J. Nilan (1855-1934), 1910-1934; Maurice F. McAuliffe (1875-), 1934-.

tunity in a new land? The newcomers here possessed commendable features which contributed to this state's development. Although handicapped by language and limited resources, these naturalized citizens have, many more times than not, used their opportunities of education, employment, and citizenship to good advantage for their adopted communities and for their personal betterment. It must not be forgotten that much of the concentrated capital of the industrial age was amassed through the importation of cheap labor from Europe—a policy which manufacturing concerns encouraged through company agents and steamship agencies, by inducing migration from abroad.

During these years of great population expansion, it was one of the duties of the episcopacy of the Roman Catholic Church to provide a clergy who could minister to the spiritual needs of these people in their accustomed language. The rapid influx of family after family and group after group created a problem which successive bishops have met with fatherly care and devotion. The extent to which Connecticut has become a fixed abode of immigrants during the last century is revealed by the figures of the United States census of 1930. The number of foreign-born plus the number of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage totals one million, thirty-nine thousand—an excess of almost two to one over those of native-born parentage. The racial elements that form the largest percentages of this population are, in the order of magnitude, Italian, Polish, Free-State Irish, German, French Canadian, English.

XII

RELIGIOUS community life is characteristic of the development of the Roman Catholic Church in all lands and

ages. New religious orders are founded in answer to definite needs. The Congregation of the Paulists in New York City is the oldest distinctively American community. Founded by five Americans who were converts to Catholicism, the community has aimed at the dissemination of Catholic truth particularly for the benefit of those who were not members of the Church. The press, the radio, the pulpit, the liturgical choir, the question box, and Newman clubs at non-Catholic colleges are types of instructive media which the Paulists have successfully utilized. "Our new society," wrote the first superior, "would embody in its life what is good in the American people in the natural order and adapt itself to answer the great wants of our people in the supernatural order. The character and spirit of our people, and their institutions, must find themselves at home in our Church in the way those of other nations have done."

Towards the formation of this congregation, Connecticut contributed a native of Fairfield, Father Hewit. Augustine Francis Hewit (1820-1897) was of aristocratic lineage, his father being a prominent Congregational minister and his mother being the daughter of the Honorable James Hillhouse, United States senator from Connecticut. He was educated at the Fairfield public school, Phillips-Andover Academy, Amherst College, and the Congregational seminary then at East Windsor, Connecticut. In the wake of the Oxford movement he adopted Episcopalianism. The year after John Henry Newman espoused the Roman Catholic Church, Hewit followed his example and was likewise ordained a priest. Some years later when permission was obtained from Rome for the founding of the Paulist community, Father Hewit was chosen to draft the first constitution and laws of the new institute. He conducted many missions, wrote

extensively over a period of twenty years, and became the second superior. His most important writing was *The King's highway* (1874), an excellent work for those who are seeking truth from Scripture.

In 1882, there was incorporated under the laws of the state of Connecticut a fraternal and beneficent society of Catholic men, named the Knights of Columbus. The ten original incorporators were residents of New Haven and formed the first council, San Salvador. The purpose of the society was to develop a practical Catholicity among its members, to promote Catholic education and charity, and to furnish temporary aid to the families of deceased members through its insurance department. In the course of time subordinate councils were formed in different cities and towns throughout the state, then in Rhode Island, and later across the country. The order is now established in every state and territory of the United States, in every province of Canada, and is branching into the republics of Central and South America. The organization publishes a monthly magazine of general interest entitled *Columbia*. The Reverend Michael J. McGivney, one of the original organizers, and his two brothers, also priests, have served in turn as supreme chaplains of this great lay organization.

XIII

At present the Roman Catholic population in the state numbers considerably over six hundred thousand. In 1835, one hundred years before the Tercentenary year, only seven hundred and twenty Catholics resided in Connecticut. No indication of the present growth of Catholicism could even be imagined at that time. Today the Catholic churches of the state number two hundred and ninety-two, many of which are contributions of

Gothic, Renaissance, Spanish Mission, and Modern architecture of compelling beauty. Nine religious communities of men and thirty religious communities of women are engaged in parochial, educational, hospital, or welfare activities. Four hospitals, three orphan asylums, two homes for the aged, two homes for self-supporting girls, and two institutions for delinquents are among the diocesan projects of social service. One hundred parochial schools, nine academies, two commercial schools, two colleges for young women, one college for young men, and four ecclesiastical seminaries constitute the educational institutions of the diocese.

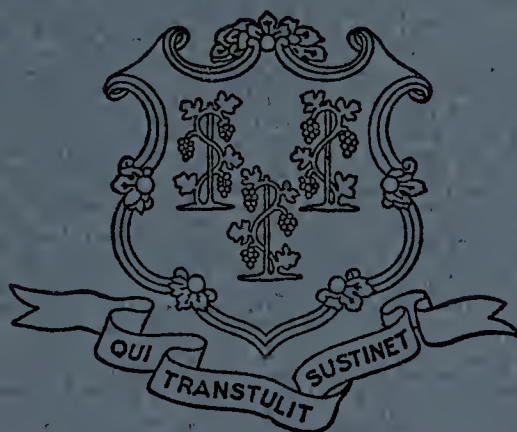
The actual fulfillment of such phenomenal expansion at the present day is all the more remarkable since it is the achievement of but a single century. Assuredly under the Constitution of 1818, Connecticut has proved itself a prolific homeland for its Catholic citizenry and a state much to be loved. The motto, "*Qui transtulit sustinet*," may fittingly apply to all people who have chosen as their life's habitation this beautiful, rolling land of wooded hills, fertile valleys, and promising harbors. God has singularly sustained Connecticut people with gifts of comparative abundance, peace, safety, and longevity. In expression of gratitude and in keeping with human adoration of the supreme God above, Connecticut has been embellished with places of worship and the skyline has been pierced with steeples, towers, and crosses in supplication for a continued providence in answer to the faith, hope, and charity of its people.

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A History of Banking in Connecticut

FRANCIS PARSONS

I

THERE is a close race for the position of the first bank in Connecticut between the Hartford Bank (now the Hartford National Bank and Trust Company) and the Union Bank of New London (now the Union Bank and Trust Company). Both were chartered at the May session of the general assembly in 1792. The legislative records of that year are so imperfect that the question of priority is, so far, unanswerable, but for all practical purposes the incorporations were simultaneous.

The New London advocates of the Union Bank had taken an early start and organized their institution before incorporation. However unusual this action may seem, there was a precedent in the establishment of the Bank of New York, under the guidance of Hamilton, in 1784, nearly seven years before the New York assembly granted a charter. Presumably these New London citizens decided that Alexander Hamilton was a safe lawyer to follow. On February 10, 1792, they held their first general meeting, followed on Monday, March 5, by what was termed "the

first annual meeting," at which the capital was subscribed and thirteen directors (the number of the Bank of New York's original directorate) were elected. The following day officers were chosen by the directors. All this, it will be noted, was before the assembly convened. No original record of the beginning of business exists, though one authority¹ states that arrangements were made for this on June 5, 1792, when a directors' meeting was held. A promissory note in favor of the bank, bearing that date, is still in existence.

As to the Hartford Bank, there is no question but that the institution began business on August 8, 1792, for the record is clear. The project of a bank in Hartford had taken form at a meeting at David Bull's tavern on the evening of February 27. A definite plan, and articles of association, followed, and by May 14 the capital was subscribed. After the incorporation the stockholders gathered at the courthouse on June 14 and elected nine directors who, two days later, chose officers. The capital was \$100,000, divided into two hundred and fifty shares of \$400 each.

The original capital of the Union Bank was also \$100,000, but the par value of the shares was \$100. It has continued without consolidating or merging with any other institution. In 1865 it entered the national system, but in 1882 returned to state sovereignty, resuming its historic charter under which it still operates. The Hartford Bank became nationalized in 1865 and has since continued under the federal aegis.

New Haven was not far behind New London and Hartford. The New Haven Bank was chartered in October of the same year, 1792, with an authorized capital of

¹ Benjamin T. Marshall, ed., *Modern history of New London county*, Vol. 2, p. 426.

\$100,000. Organization was not effected, however, till 1795 when the charter was amended, permitting the bank to start with a subscribed capital of \$50,000, which could be enlarged up to \$400,000 should the "increase of trade" require it. The New Haven Bank qualified under the national banking law in 1863 and has since continued as a national bank, consolidating August 28, 1915, with the City Bank of New Haven and the New Haven County National Bank, under its present title of The New Haven Bank, National Banking Association.

Middletown followed with the charter of the Middletown Bank enacted in 1795, though organization was deferred till 1801. In 1865 it became a national bank. The Norwich Bank was incorporated in 1796. During the following decade these five institutions were the only incorporated banks which served the people of this state. Four of them are still doing business. The Norwich Bank became nationalized in 1865 and was voluntarily liquidated in 1889.

II

IN 1792 Washington was approaching the end of his first term as president. His sound judgment and common sense, together with the genius of Hamilton, seemed, in spite of difficulties, to be on the way to working out successfully the unprecedented American experiment in government. Hitherto, all the confusion of thought and uncertainty of events at home and abroad had resulted in confused and experimental action, particularly in the field under consideration. The emergency experiments of Continental and state paper money, issued chiefly during the Revolutionary War, had failed, as schemes of fiat money are always bound to fail in the end, the disaster culminating in the years following 1780. For

a while various expedients had been resorted to, barter being a frequent method of trade, and foreign coin being used when obtainable. But why could not banks, when organized, issue currency? They could and soon they proceeded to do so.

In the formation of the Bank of North America at Philadelphia in 1781, Hamilton, who was always intrigued by financial problems, was associated with Robert Morris. It was three years later that Hamilton wrote the "constitution" of the Bank of New York which at once began business, though not chartered till 1791. This "constitution" formed the model, with adaptations to local conditions, of the articles of association and charters of the earliest Connecticut banks.

The establishment of these Philadelphia and New York institutions marked an important beginning—the change from depreciated Continental and state currency to a scheme of bank notes redeemable in specie. For it must be remembered that the checking system was practically nonexistent and the chief function of the early banks, aside from the making of loans, was the issuance of their notes which came to form the main medium of exchange. For a long time specie had been scarce and mostly foreign at that. The English monetary system had prevailed, and its translation into "hard money" of various kinds resulted in great variation. In 1785 congress resolved that the money unit of the country should be one dollar, and provided that "the several pieces, shall increase in a decimal ratio"; but it was not until 1792 that the United States mint was definitely established.

The change, however, did not come immediately. It was seven years after the congressional resolution that the Hartford Bank took the lead in introducing the decimal system into Connecticut. At the first meeting of

the directors after the charter became operative, to wit on June 16, 1792, it was voted that the bank's notes should be issued and made payable in dollars. Nevertheless the force of habit was hard to overcome. It was not till 1797 that the accounting system in the state treasurer's office was changed to dollars and their fractions, from pounds, shillings, and pence.

III

MUCH of the financial confusion and uncertainty following the Revolutionary War was eliminated by the adoption of the federal constitution of 1787, the enactment of the funding bill in 1790, and the establishment of the first Bank of the United States in the following year—the latter two being creations of Hamilton, devices which bore their part in accelerating the incorporation of the three Connecticut banks in 1792. From the postwar depression the country swung into an era of wild speculation dealing chiefly with the United States securities under the funding act and with transactions in western lands. This in turn had its inevitable reaction.

During this period of alternating boom and depression the Connecticut banks stood firm, but it seems probable that the failure of any banking expansion in the state till 1806 may be attributed to the uncertainties of this decade. In that year the Bridgeport Bank was incorporated, its charter providing that the state of Connecticut could come in as a stockholder. This provision followed a precedent established in 1803 when the general assembly accepted an offer of the Hartford, New Haven, and Middletown banks, that it become a stockholder in these corporations in proportion to their respective capitalizations. In accepting this offer the state made its acceptance conditionally applicable to the other two Connecticut

banks—in New London and Norwich—and further provided, among other things, that in any case where the state became a stockholder the comptroller should be furnished, when he should require it, with a statement of the bank's condition and also should have "the right to inspect such general accounts in the books of the bank, as shall relate to said statement." This is memorable as the first Connecticut legislation relating to state supervision of banks. It should be noted, however, that the motive in this first instance was the protection, not of the depositors, bill holders, and stockholders, but of the state itself.

This year, 1806, marked a renewal of Connecticut banking activities. The minimum capital of the Bridgeport Bank was \$50,000 and its maximum \$200,000. It is a commentary on the importance of shipping in those days and on the advantages of New London as a seaport that a demand arose there at this time for more banking facilities. At the general assembly's May session in 1807 the New London Bank was incorporated with an authorized capital of \$200,000—the maximum of the Bridgeport Bank—which might be expanded to \$500,000. The strange and ill-fated Derby Fishing Company was chartered in 1806. By an odd development this corporation got into the banking business. Its original purpose was to further the cod and other fisheries, but in 1807 it was authorized to engage in marine insurance and in the following year (the fishing and marine insurance business having been practically killed by the embargo and non-intercourse acts of 1807) it was empowered to loan its capital and take security therefor. On the strength of this it proceeded to enter into banking and even issued its notes for circulation. Called to account by the general assembly in 1808, it was prohibited from issuing "any

more notes." Later it came under the control of New York interests and in 1825 it collapsed. In 1809 the Derby Bank was chartered on condition that no director of the Fishing Company should hold shares, that company also being restrained by indirection from owning stock. In 1812, however, for some occult reason, the Fishing Company was permitted to own stock to a limited extent. In 1811 the Eagle Bank of New Haven was organized with an initial capital of \$500,000. Through mismanagement it was to furnish in 1825 the first instance of a bank failure in Connecticut. In that disastrous year the Derby Bank also stopped payment.

IV

It was unfortunate for the country that the charter of the first Bank of the United States expired in 1811 and that efforts to renew it were defeated, for the approaching war with Great Britain was casting its shadow in advance, and commerce, and consequently banking interests, were suffering. Undoubtedly, a central bank would have been a reassuring anchor to windward.

The first Bank of the United States had been a stabilizing influence, but it had not always been popular. The prejudice against banks in general, which seems to accompany every panic or depression, was illustrated by the debates upon the charter's renewal in congress, where the institution was quite unjustly abused. Probably its very success was an element in this antagonism. Dividends had averaged about eight per cent and on final liquidation the stockholders received \$434 on each of their shares, the par value of which, like those of the Hartford Bank, which had perhaps followed this precedent, was \$400.

Its discontinuance as a national institution stimulated

the organization of a large number of state banks, in spite of the approach of war, and of the war itself, particularly in Pennsylvania where the principal office of the Bank of the United States had been situated. The theory was, the more banks, the more money. A wave of bank incorporations spread through the Middle Atlantic states. It became evident, however, in 1814, when most of the banks outside New England suspended specie payments, that there was something wrong with this idea. One thing wrong with it, besides the inability of the banks to redeem their notes in specie, was that with so many banks issuing their notes, which became currency, speculative activity had increased and prices had risen. As banks began to suspend, the value of this outstanding currency depreciated, but not at a uniform rate, and much confusion resulted.

Connecticut, however, along with Massachusetts, remained conservative and its banks issued their notes with caution. "Not a bank in Connecticut refused to pay its demand notes in specie," wrote J. G. Woodward. Nevertheless, as these notes kept pressing in for redemption and were thus withdrawn from circulation, their place began to be taken by the depreciated issues of suspended institutions in other states, thus furnishing a currency highly unsatisfactory to Connecticut people. To meet this difficulty the general assembly in 1815 authorized the banks to issue bills payable in specie "two years after the war." Indeed, all through these days of chaotic conditions the Connecticut banks had an excellent record. About the only disturbance from which they suffered was the purely physical inconvenience caused by the removal to Norwich of the New London banks when Decatur's little squadron was driven into the harbor.

V

THAT in spite of the confused situation there was need of more banking facilities in Connecticut toward the end of the war is illustrated by the fact that in 1814 (the year in which the city of Washington was captured by the British) the Phoenix Bank in Hartford was incorporated with a capital of one million dollars. It is recorded that the stock was oversubscribed seven times, but no historian, so far as the writer is aware, has commented upon that extraordinary fact. That \$7,000,000 was volunteered for this purpose in Connecticut in the midst of the war and a disturbed economic situation is a circumstance that implies either a flattering confidence by the people in their prospective bankers and a resourcefulness that is surprising in view of current conditions, or else a possibility that the subscriptions were not all made in expectation of fulfillment.

Though there is space here for only brief reference to individual banks, the story of the Phoenix Bank's organization was so peculiar as to merit fuller narration.² In Connecticut the Congregational Church (sometimes styled contemporaneously "Presbyterian") was in effect the established church of the colony and the state. The management of the Hartford Bank was, speaking generally, of the Standing Order so far as religious affiliations were concerned. In politics it was Federalist. For twenty-two years it had enjoyed a monopoly in the financial affairs of Hartford and its vicinity. It was well managed and had prospered. That very prosperity stimulated an ambition in others to share the abundant crops in the same field, and in February, 1814, a petition, signed by

²See O. S. Seymour, *Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* (no. XXX in this series), pp. 21-22.

the Episcopalians, Ward Woodbridge, Samuel Tudor, Jr., and Charles Sigourney (the last the husband of the poetess, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, "the sweet singer of Hartford,") was presented to the general assembly, praying for the incorporation of a bank with a capital of \$1,500,000 and offering what now seems a strange inducement; namely, the payment "in conformity to precedent in other states," of four per cent on the capital, or \$60,000, to the state if the prayer were granted. This bonus, or "premium," as it was more euphoniously termed, was to be appropriated to the use of Yale College and of its Medical Institute (a bid for the votes of the Congregationalists) and to the Bishop's Fund of the Episcopal Church, or "to be otherwise disposed of, for the use of the state or for any purpose whatever which to your honours may seem best."

This was like throwing a bomb among the Hartford Bank's directors. They countered with an offer to increase their capital by \$1,000,000 and to pay a bonus of \$50,000. The Episcopalians had long considered themselves under a grievance because of alleged discrimination against their denomination, and they lined up pretty generally back of the Woodbridge petition. The general assembly, after considerable turmoil, granted a charter to the Phoenix Bank, changing the capitalization to \$1,000,000 (with power to double this amount) and stipulating a premium of \$50,000. The assembly voted Yale's Medical Institute \$20,000 (though this does not seem to have been a clear and direct charge against the bonus), but the Bishop's Fund got nothing. A fine "contestation" ensued, with mutual recriminations. A subsequent application to the state for aid to the Bishop's Fund was refused, and permission to establish an Episcopalian college was declined. The opinion spread

that the Episcopalians were being shabbily treated. The Episcopal group went over to the Republicans, drawing many new partisans with them, and formed the "Toleration" party, which in a few years dominated the legislative and executive branches of the state's government. It was able to force the calling of the convention which framed the constitution of 1818 under which church and state were separated in Connecticut.³ Washington (now Trinity) College was chartered in 1823. In 1820 the trustees of the Bishop's Fund were granted authority, in lieu of what they considered their claim against the state, to raise \$15,000 by a lottery. They sublet this privilege for about \$7,000 and lost \$5,500 of it when the Eagle Bank of New Haven failed.

Thus the battle for the Phoenix Bank's incorporation started an important train of events. Not the least of these has been the development of the institution itself into one of the most successful of the banks and trust companies in Connecticut.

In the effort to secure votes from western Connecticut, the incorporators of the Phoenix Bank had asked authorization to establish a branch in Litchfield. This request was granted and the branch presently began business. In 1865 it organized independently as the First National Bank of Litchfield.

VI

THE news of the treaty that ended the War of 1812 reached this country in February, 1815. In October, 1814, specie had been at a premium of eleven per cent. When peace was declared the premium dropped to three or four per cent, but the financial optimism indicated by

³See J. M. Morse, *Under the constitution of 1818: the first decade* (no. XVII in this series).

this was short-lived. In July, 1815, specie was quoted at a fifteen per cent premium. The Connecticut banks, themselves in a healthy condition and dissatisfied with the action of the New York financial institutions in not resuming specie payments, sent delegates to a conference at Middletown on July 7. Representatives chosen at this meeting went to New York but could secure no tangible results.

The truth was that the currency was in a chaotic condition. In spite of peace, specie was still scarce and notes of state banks, wandering here and there through the country, were of uncertain value, particularly when far from home. The United States government itself, for example, accepted this local currency, and the result was it had money everywhere, "but nothing with which to pay its debts in the places where they were due."

It began to permeate the national intelligence that the Bank of the United States, which had been called names in the congress that had refused to renew its charter, had had its good points after all, and a second Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816 with a capital of \$35,000,000 of which the government took \$7,000,000. The parent bank operated largely through a system of branches, and the Connecticut branch was first established at Middletown, but moved to Hartford in 1824. Its capital was \$250,000, increased later to \$300,000.

Through the efforts of the Bank of the United States the banks of the Middle and Southern states agreed to resume specie payments February 20, 1817. Despite this and other attempts of the new bank to relieve the situation, the redundant and uncertain currency had done too much damage to be repaired quickly, and the ultimate contraction (the only alternative to national bankruptcy) and curtailment of discounts produced a period of distress

and depression that culminated in the panic year of 1825, when the Eagle and Derby Banks failed.

Connecticut fared better than most of the country in these lean years. In 1819, one of the most discouraging of these years, the Society for Savings, the first mutual savings bank in Connecticut, was established in Hartford. Almost simultaneously similar institutions were chartered in Philadelphia and New York. Massachusetts already had two savings banks, instituted in 1816 and 1818 respectively, while in the latter year one had been started in Baltimore. The first by-law of the Society for Savings read: "The primary objects of the institution are to aid the industrious, economical and worthy, and to protect them from the extravagance of the profligate, the snares of the vicious, and to bless them with competency, respectability and happiness." The following year the Savings Bank of New Haven was incorporated, its charter following closely that of the Society for Savings, though it was authorized to accept deposits up to \$500 from any one individual in each year, while the Hartford savings bank was restricted to a \$200 limit.

The mutual savings bank theory was popular (it had been first put in practice in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, in 1810), and the Norwich Savings Society was chartered in 1824, the Middletown Savings Bank in 1825, and the Savings Bank of New London in 1827. The charters of these institutions also conformed to that of the Society for Savings.

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the development of the mutual savings banks in Connecticut. Suffice it to say that their growth has been conservative, and of great extent. They have been of inestimable benefit to the people. They have suffered little, if at all, from the establishment of building and loan associations or from the

later development of savings departments in trust companies and national banks. There were seventy-three mutual savings banks in Connecticut with aggregate deposits, on September 29, 1934, of \$667,148,747.77 and assets of \$740,569,074.76.

VII

IN 1818, there were ten state banks of discount in Connecticut. One factor which supported the steadiness of the Connecticut banks during the ups and downs of these years was the establishment in Massachusetts, by the Suffolk Bank, of what came to be known as the Suffolk System. In 1819 this bank began to deal in uncurrent money—that is, the notes, generally of distant banks, the redemption value of which was dependent on the issuing banks' credit. The Suffolk Bank offered to redeem the notes of country banks which might be presented to it for payment, allowing the promisor bank the discount at which such a note might be purchased. This offer was conditioned upon the agreement by each bank which entered into the plan to keep on deposit with the Suffolk Bank \$5,000—later reduced to \$2,000. The scheme was at first unpopular and the Boston banks that in 1824 joined with the Suffolk, appointing it their agent, were derisively called "The Holy Alliance," but the advantages of the system soon became apparent. It gave a certain stability and liquidity to a part, at least, of the uncertain currency with which our ancestors were afflicted, and it furnished a check on undue expansion. The discount on most New England notes disappeared. Notes of Connecticut participating banks were at par wherever Boston funds were at par.

In 1827 confidence began to emerge after the disturbances culminating in 1825. In the former year and

those immediately following the general assembly chartered seven new banks, not counting the Quinebaug Canal Bank which never went into operation. But President Jackson's successful opposition to extending the charter, which expired in 1836, of the second Bank of the United States, and the subsequent deposit of public moneys in "pet banks" again confused the financial situation. Furthermore, the discontinuance of the second Bank of the United States resulted in an attempt to fill the gap by state banking expansion throughout the country. In Connecticut, comparatively speaking, this expansion was mild. The Jacksonian party secured control, in 1833, of the general assembly, which in that year incorporated six additional Connecticut banks; in 1834 four more were authorized, though by that time there had been a reversal of sentiment and the anti-Jackson party was in the ascendant in Connecticut. Confidence was soon restored but accompanied, as usual, by speculation, especially in the newly opened western and southern lands. The history of the period following the discontinuance of the first Bank of the United States was repeated; the country had learned nothing from that experience. The alternation of hopefulness (with accompanying speculation) and gloom in this period is bewildering. Jackson's famous "specie circular," providing in substance that payments for new lands must be made in specie, except in cases of *bona fide* settlers or residents of the state in question, was issued in the summer of 1836. Its intent was sound but practically it precipitated another crisis. The New York banks suspended specie payments on May 10, 1837, and the following day the banks of Philadelphia and of Connecticut—except the City Bank of New Haven, the Union Bank of New London, and the Mystic and Stonington Banks—

joined in the suspension. Massachusetts followed on May 12. However, no Connecticut bank failed in these trying days and by 1838 the immediate resources of all the state banks were more than half of the liabilities, and the specie on hand was twenty-seven per cent of the outstanding circulation. Specie payments were resumed in May, 1838.

In 1822 Connecticut banks had been required to file with the comptroller annual statements showing their general condition, but no forms were specified and the returns were not uniform or complete. At the assembly's May session in 1836 a special committee, consisting of the state treasurer, the comptroller, and the commissioner of the school fund, was appointed to examine the state banks and report the following year. The committee examined thirty of the thirty-one banks then operating in the state. One refused to submit to the examination but afterward repented. As a result of the committee's report, which adversely criticized some of the informal practices then prevailing, the first bank commissioners—John C. Palmer and Chauncey F. Cleveland, afterward governor—were appointed in May, 1838. In 1836 and 1837 the general assembly passed acts looking to a more businesslike conduct of banking in the state. Thus, the policy of assuming a measure of responsibility for the management of the state's financial institutions may be attributed to the assemblies of 1837 and 1838.

The occurrences of these troubled years may have instigated the inquisitiveness of the legislators as to Connecticut banking practices. There was trouble again—or a culmination of trouble—in the autumn of 1839 when three hundred and forty-three banks, chiefly in the West and South, failed. The Bank of the United States in Pennsylvania, which had taken over the business and good will of the discontinued second Bank of the United

States, suspended in October of that year and in 1841 its dubious career came to an end. Connecticut may justifiably point with pride to the stability of its banks, then as well as now. Two sentences from the report for May, 1844, of the Connecticut bank commissioners are worth reading and pondering today:

From the lowest depths of commercial distress and embarrassment the country is now rising; the laws of trade, without aid from government, have obtained the supremacy, and prices are governed chiefly by demand and supply; business is active . . . and capital is again in demand. That the soundness of the currency is the best and only effectual regulator of the exchanges, the experience of the past seems to have demonstrated.

In 1852 the general banking act of Connecticut, known as the Free Banking Act, became law. It followed the fashion set by New York and its purpose was to allow the general organization of banks under its terms, without the necessity of securing special charters. Its most significant provision was that requiring the deposit with the state treasurer of federal and certain state and municipal securities, against which notes were issued. Thus, for a time, there came to be two distinct types of banks in the state: those which issued a currency, limited to be sure, but unsecured (aside from the assets of the respective banks), and those whose notes were secured by definite investments held by the state as trustee. The security provisions of the act (reminiscent of later federal legislation) seem a reassuring and healthy factor, but the law as a whole was unpopular. It was nullified in 1855 when provision was made that no banks should be organized thereafter under it. The fourteen banks that had been established according to its provisions were allowed to have special charters on payment of a two per cent bonus to

the state. The collateral deposited by them was to be returned when outstanding notes secured thereby were surrendered.

VIII

THE Erie Canal had been opened in 1825, and three years later the Farmington Canal was doing business. But canal transportation, on which high hopes had been founded, was soon superseded by railroads. Enthusiasm for both these enterprises resulted in overbuilding and speculation in their securities. These factors, with undue expansion of the currency, brought about the panic of 1857 which was serious, though brief. Banks had made large loans on collateral that shrank in value, many western banks suspended, factories were closed with resulting unemployment. The circulation of Connecticut banks contracted in the amount of more than \$6,000,000, mostly between July 1 and November 1, 1857. In 1853 two Connecticut banks had failed—in Killingly and Woodbury—both because of the failure of a New York broker.

Readjustment came about fairly rapidly, however, after the 1857 panic—at least in this state where specie payments, which had been generally suspended, were resumed on December 14. The bank commissioners' report to the general assembly of 1858 listed seventy-six Connecticut banks, not counting the Granite Bank of Voluntown, a fraudulent enterprise which was put out of business by the bank commissioners who discovered its headquarters in a saloon in New York. Another bank, the Mattatuck of Waterbury, financed by New York interests, was declared insolvent by the courts. By this time it must have occurred to the Connecticut banking fraternity that New York connections should be scrutinized with care.

The Civil War period was notable, of course, for the organization and establishment of the national banking system; also for the somewhat surprising fact that, as the bank commissioners put it in their report to the general assembly of 1863 (the year of the institution of the bureau of currency in the treasury department and of the national banking law), the state had never been so prosperous as then; stocks were higher and dividends larger than ever. Deposits in Connecticut banks on April 1, 1863, amounted to \$9,573,074.82, an increase of over fifty per cent during the past year. This was an extraordinary recovery from the depression in the first year of the war, but the inflationary policy, evidenced by the "greenback" issues, must be taken into account here. In the absence of a general demand for loans, and with the desire to sustain the federal government, the banks had invested approximately six-and-one-half million dollars in government obligations—more than one fourth of their entire capital.

The creditable history of the Connecticut banks had been due very largely in the commissioners' opinion (expressed in their report in 1865) to the specie reserve requirements. The national banking acts of 1863 and 1864 offered relief from this, substituting the deposit with the government of securities held against circulation, and the ten per cent tax on circulation by state banks, adversely criticized by the bank commissioners, made the issuance of currency by state banks practically prohibitory. A stampede toward nationalization set in. The report to the general assembly of 1866 gave the whole number of banks in the state as ninety, of which eighty-two were national, with an aggregate capitalization of about \$24,000,000, leaving eight state banks, capitalized at approximately \$2,000,000. By 1870 only four state banks were doing business in Connecticut; namely, the

City and the Mechanics Banks in New Haven, and in Hartford the State Bank, and the Connecticut River Banking Company which held a unique and valuable state charter. This, however, does not include trust companies, then in an embryo stage.

IX

TRUST companies had long existed in this country, but it was only in the late 'sixties of the last century that their possibilities of usefulness and therefore of development were at all adequately foreseen. Gradually the advantages to the public of the fiduciary organization combined with discount-banking activities came to be appreciated, but many of the early trust companies were fiduciary institutions only rhetorically. In 1875 there were four state banks and ten trust companies in Connecticut; in the bank commissioner's report for 1934 every state bank except three carried the word "trust" in its title, and used its trust powers in the restrictive and legitimate sense. This takes no account of the national banks, each one of which, under the present national banking law, may engage in fiduciary activities, as most of them do.

In Connecticut the first trust company to appear was the Fairfield Loan and Trust Company, organized October 20, 1837, as a joint stock association under the general act passed June 10, 1837. In the modern sense of the words it was not a trust company at all. It was given powers which today seem obviously dangerous, and one is not surprised at the statement in the bank commissioners' report as of January 1, 1872, when there were five trust companies doing business in the state, that it was not contemplated that the business of banking should be organized under the general joint-stock laws, though several so-called trust companies had so organ-

ized. Most of the trust companies in the early stages combined the functions of banks of discount and savings banks, although two confined their activity entirely to real estate loans. They paid interest on all deposits. The Fairfield institution was legislated out of existence in 1880.

In 1867 the Hartford Trust Company was chartered, the act being amended the following year. That year, 1868, saw an outburst of trust company organization, comprising the formation of the National Railway and Trust Company, the Continental Railway and Trust Company, the Union Trust and Safe Deposit Company (New Haven), and the Charter Oak Trust Company (Hartford). The last-named, under its changed title of Security Company, did an almost entirely trust business during its first twenty-five years. The first two were, primarily, disguised railroads, and have long since faded out of the picture. The title of the Union Trust and Safe Deposit Company was shortened the year after the date of its charter to the Union Trust Company, which later consolidated with the New Haven Trust Company to form the Union and New Haven Trust Company, now the possessor of an enviable reputation and a large business. The name of the Charter Oak Trust Company was soon changed, as stated above, to the Security Company, later to the Security Trust Company, which through a series of consolidations, including the Fidelity, another trust company, is now comprised in the organization of the Hartford National Bank and Trust Company, the largest bank in the state. Likewise the Hartford Trust Company, after a long and honorable career, consolidated with the Connecticut Trust and Safe Deposit Company to become the present Hartford-Connecticut Trust Company, the leading institution in Connecticut

in the number and amount of its trust accounts. It was all a clear case of the survival of the fittest among these pioneer institutions of their kind; it also may be taken as a refreshing illustration of the enduring values, through the vicissitudes of nearly seventy years, of honest and capable management when applied to a useful enterprise.

X

It seems to be a general rule that the aftermath of a war brings three successive economic developments—a period of adjustment with its attendant confusion, a revival of apparent prosperity, accompanied by speculation and overproduction, and then the inevitable reaction into stagnation and depression.

The events following the close of the Civil War furnished the most striking illustration of this sequence up to that time. The period of adjustment was comparatively brief and was followed by tremendous expansion, particularly in the railroad field. The results of overproduction and overbuilding were not slow in arriving, accelerated by the demands for money incident to the Chicago and Boston conflagrations (in October, 1872, the New York banks were more than one million dollars under their reserve requirements), the lowering of the war tariffs, foreign competition, contraction of foreign loans, falling prices as overproduction exerted its effect, and unemployment that followed efforts to counteract the consequences of that overproduction, together with the attempts of the government to deflate the overexpanded currency. In 1873, congress, in passing the coinage act in an effort to systematize the currency, omitted silver, which had been in little use, and this became known as "the crime of '73." The failure, in September, of Jay Cooke and Company, who had been financing the build-

ing of the Union Pacific Railroad, precipitated the crisis. This brought other failures in its train. The stock exchange closed and several New York banks collapsed.

The effect was, of course, felt throughout the country, and in Connecticut as much as elsewhere, but the banks in the state stood up well. Perhaps the greatest uneasiness was felt at that time in connection with the savings banks. They had not then had, naturally, the educative experience they possess today, nor had they the protective laws, the results of that experience, which, in so large a measure, give them the strength they now so conspicuously exhibit. But they had proved popular, had had immense growth, and there had been much competition. Deposits in mutual savings banks had increased to more than \$55,000,000 on January 1, 1871. Since the repeal of the old usury law some of these institutions had advanced their interest rate on real estate loans from six to eight per cent. In the stress of competition some were paying larger dividends than their earnings justified. In 1872 the small Staffordville Savings Bank failed. The general assembly took the savings banks matter in hand promptly and appointed special bank commissioners to investigate. These commissioners reported in 1874, and as a result a more healthy condition was brought about. It was not possible, however, to save the situation entirely and a year after the panic started the Townsend Savings Bank of New Haven, one of the largest institutions in the state, with about twelve thousand depositors, was forced to close its doors.

The panic of 1873 had its lessons. In particular, there may be dated from that time higher ethical standards in banking. These have been stimulated in Connecticut by the vigilance of the authorities which has characterized the state banking department and made the Connecticut

system of supervision certainly one of the most efficient in the country, without dictatorial excesses or unreasonable restriction of individual initiative. It would be unfair to attribute to all the savings banks in the state the abuses which the commissioners found in some. The older and more conservative institutions came through the crisis in excellent condition. On January 1, 1873, there were seventy-eight savings banks in Connecticut; a year later there were seventy-nine, with deposits of more than \$70,000,000, an increase of nearly \$2,250,000, and a growth in surplus of about \$170,000.

The four state discount banks weathered the storm creditably. The report of the comptroller of the currency showed eighty national banks operating in Connecticut during 1872 with paid-in capital of \$25,291,820. For the following two years the number was the same. (By 1883 the number had grown to eighty-eight.) On January 1, 1874, the state bank commissioners' report showed ten trust companies doing business. One of these (in New London) accepted no deposits or trust accounts but limited its business to loaning on western real estate; another (in Norwich) also loaned on the same security, but had a small deposit business which, the commissioners noted, "it does not desire." Aside from these two, the commissioners stated that the Connecticut trust companies' business "is very nearly that of ordinary banking."

XI

THE panic of 1873 subsided into a depression which was perhaps most evident throughout the industrial domain. Connecticut, rapidly developing as an industrial state, had to bear its burden of stagnation and unemployment. Gradually, however, conditions improved, but then the

silver question became a financial and political issue which was to agitate the country and the banks till the situation was eased by the election of William McKinley as president following the panic of 1893.

Ninety-three was indeed a bad year, and caused more distress than the crisis of twenty years before. Fifty-four closed banks throughout the country never reopened and the failures were three times as many. Connecticut saw the issuance by manufacturing and other corporations of "pay checks" which circulated freely as money. Clearing-house certificates also were used. In general, Connecticut banks exhibited commendable stability. The commissioners' report of January 1, 1894, stated: "Not even a suspicion of weakness had been displayed by any of the banks," nor had there been any impairment of capital. The savings banks, though finally forced to invoke the withdrawal notice, in order to stop "foolish and senseless runs in certain localities," had proved to be in a sound condition, and their management wise and conservative. "During the hardest time, the deposits of the poorest classes reflected a temporary cessation of additions to their savings, rather than a steady withdrawal of funds already accumulated." Nevertheless there were tight places. Perhaps this report was a little optimistic. A Willimantic savings bank finally succumbed, owing to bad management and manipulation by its executive officer. This did not appear of record till the report of the following year when the bank commissioners, Edward R. Doyle and Sidney W. Crofut, issued a review which deserves approbation, for it outspokenly called attention to some questionable practices and recommended various changes in the banking laws, particularly as to savings banks; it advocated more exact and thorough audits, examinations, and reports; it frankly admitted that there

were some banks that would have to be "nursed along" because of losses arising from bad investments made in the past. Altogether it was a sane document, with no false glamor about it, reflecting a close and fearless study of the situation, and it had a definite influence toward stricter practices. The next year, 1896, the same commissioners were able to compliment the banks on their "efficient, conservative methods" and the general condition of the banking institutions was stated to be eminently satisfactory. That this was sincere commendation no one who reads the commissioners' comment of the previous year can doubt.

The report for January 1, 1894, showed that the eight state banks had increased their surplus and undivided profits during the previous year by \$58,296.35 and trust companies had gained in the same items \$69,548.63. The report of the comptroller of the currency for October 31, 1893, showed the total number of national banks in Connecticut as ninety-eight, of which eighty-four were in operation and fourteen were in process of liquidation, though none appears to have failed in the years 1893 and 1894.

The result of the 1896 election brought the beginning of recovery, and the state and the nation entered the new century with high hopes under the first Roosevelt, whose antagonism to trusts did not prevent the beginnings of a period of bank consolidations. This was slow in developing in this conservative state and did not become evident in any extended way till some years later. In the meantime, came the "bank panic" of 1907, which never should have occurred, and was called, by a writer in the *New York Times*, "the shame of 1907." It was a real panic, for fear was its dominant characteristic; but, if sharp, it was short, and its effects in Connecticut, after a year or two,

seemed negligible, for no depression followed. There was, however, in 1908 a general decrease in the assets of savings banks and a shrinkage of deposits aggregating \$4,273,284. The only instance of capital impairment among the discount banks occurred in a trust company in a small city.

Two years previously the bank commissioners noted the fact that ten trust companies were soliciting savings deposits, with considerable success. They recommended the application of the savings bank laws as to investment to such savings departments and advised other restrictions as to safety, which were subsequently adopted.

The panic of 1907, like many unpleasant experiences, had several beneficial effects, the most enduring and profitable of which was the realization by the banks and the business world of the need of some strong general reservoir or reservoirs of reserve. After years of study, trial and error, after the Aldrich-Vreeland bill and the monetary commission, came the Federal Reserve Act approved December 23, 1913. This was a direct outgrowth of the experience of 1907 when, to quote the *New York Times* again, the New York banks stopped payment though they had \$220,000,000 of cash, or a twenty per cent reserve. But the reserves were not widely available, because each bank clung to its own, and the New York banks called frantically upon Europe for gold. The primary cause of the trouble was the rivalry for control of railroads, industries (*e.g.*, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company), and banks by warring interests; but what brought the crash was the constriction of reserves.

It was fortunate that the Federal Reserve Act came when it did, for it exercised a stabilizing influence when the war broke out in Europe in the ensuing year. The confusion necessarily accompanying such a catastrophe was

short. During the war years, even after this country became a belligerent, there is no mention that the writer has found in the bank commissioners' reports of the war's specific effects in Connecticut. New banking institutions were organized and the state was prosperous. For example, in 1916, savings bank deposits increased \$26,694,621.65 and savings deposits in trust companies \$10,227,972.13. The readjustments after the war, following the old sequence, involved a loss in savings bank deposits of about \$5,000,000 in the year ending October 1, 1921, and deposits in savings departments of trust companies shrank approximately \$1,500,000. The following year deposits in savings banks increased almost \$8,000,000 and savings departments of trust companies showed a gain in deposits of \$5,500,000.

XII

THE postwar depression, caused perhaps chiefly by the sudden brake on production, the cancellation of contracts, the necessity of liquidating overstocked inventories, together with all the complexities resulting from our position as a creditor nation, was not serious or prolonged. Nevertheless, Connecticut, a large munition-producing state, had its business troubles and incidentally many banks took heavy losses. Their strong resources in accumulated surplus and profits, and most of all the assurance to members that the Federal Reserve Banks were behind them, prevented any real apprehension, and no banking institution in the state had to close on account of the economic disturbances immediately following the World War.

On the whole, the country slipped easily into the years of the Great Boom. Those years of exaltation have become a somewhat painful memory and they are not to be

dwelt upon here. It may be noted in passing that toward the end, bankers found themselves undergoing the unusual experience of seeing many large corporations employing their surplus cash in call loans—a rather significant commentary on the times. It was the greatest boom that has followed any war in which the United States has been engaged, and has been succeeded by the most prolonged and discouraging depression—largely so because it was world-wide. There is no space here to discuss, nor would there be propriety in discussing, the manifold complexities that have followed one another in the financial world since October, 1929.

How have Connecticut banks pulled through these strange years? In the bank commissioner's report as of September 29, 1934, there appeared sixteen closed state banks and trust companies in Connecticut. Of these, two closed in 1930, seven in 1931, four in 1932, and three in 1933. Half of them were in reasonably large cities. Four state institutions previously closed had been reorganized and reopened; in some other cases there had been mergers, consolidations, or sales of assets. During the years since the Connecticut banking act of 1933 was passed which, among other provisions, let down the bars to branch banking under certain restrictions (as did the national act passed in the same year), several smaller institutions have been taken over by larger banks, state and national, as branches—a development which so far promises well in Connecticut.

The national banks in the state made a good showing. Perhaps this may have been due to the Federal Reserve influence, but the various factors are so confused that one cannot be dogmatic. Of course, many state institutions were Federal Reserve members. On October 4, 1929, there were sixty-two national banks in Connecticut. One

disappeared from the roll in the report of the comptroller of the currency for 1930. In 1931 the number remained static. The report for 1932 showed a loss of three, leaving fifty-eight which survived the crisis of 1933. The comptroller's report for 1934 is not at this writing available, but it is known that two of the closed national banks have been reorganized and reopened.

No mutual savings bank in Connecticut failed during these years. Indeed there has been no failure among these institutions since 1911, when one of the smaller banks had to close its doors. On occasion since 1929 savings institutions, pretty generally throughout the state, have been compelled as a matter of prudence to invoke the withdrawal notice, but the necessity for this passed in every case within a comparatively short period. The depreciation in the real estate market, of course, affected the whole mortgage situation. With this the savings banks were deeply concerned, for their mortgage loans probably constituted their most puzzling problem. Notwithstanding this and other difficult questions, the bank commissioner's report showed a net increase in assets for the year ending September 29, 1934, of more than \$14,300,000, and an increase in deposits of over \$15,500,000. It is unnecessary to emphasize the reassuring implications of these figures. An additional safeguard among the savings banks has been the formation of a liquidity fund in the form of a corporation authorized by the general assembly of 1933, known as the Mutual Savings Banks' Central Fund, Incorporated. Most of the savings banks of the state are members of this. The rate of mutual savings bank dividends and of interest on savings deposits in state banks and trust companies, not Federal Reserve members, has been restricted to three per cent a year since November, 1934. The rate on savings deposits in

national banks and other members of the Federal Reserve system is, at this writing, two-and-one-half per cent. These rates reflect government policy and the lower return on the high-grade securities to which these savings banks and departments are restricted in investment.

XIII

IN view of the magnitude of the menace and the tremendous number and immense importance of details that had to be worked out in haste, it is fair to say that the crisis of March, 1933, was adroitly and successfully handled. The efforts toward readjustment were helped by the restraint and good temper of the people. In Connecticut there was trouble enough, but no major catastrophe. Perhaps one source of strength was the fact that in this state there were, as a result of the consolidations and mergers of the previous years, more large and strong banks than ever before. The virtual abandonment of the gold standard is memorable historically as well as for its practical effect and for the widespread discussions which it aroused.

It seems likely that, when the history of these present years comes to be written, the attempt to relieve the distress caused by unemployment through the expenditure of gigantic sums for that purpose will be one of the outstanding phenomena of the period. It is an extraordinary effort, reflecting the greatest credit upon the altruism of the American people. Yet it cannot be denied that the necessity for liquidating these great sums (and others) creates a financial problem, of which we do not yet see the solution.

Among other effects, this expenditure of vast amounts has resulted in flooding the banks, as well as other sources of investment, with government securities. The credit of the government is so good that these securities

yield what seems to those remembering other investment conditions a ridiculously low rate of interest, and this, combined with the dearth of applications for loans, cramps to a degree the earning power of banks in general. But there is some compensation in increased liquidity.

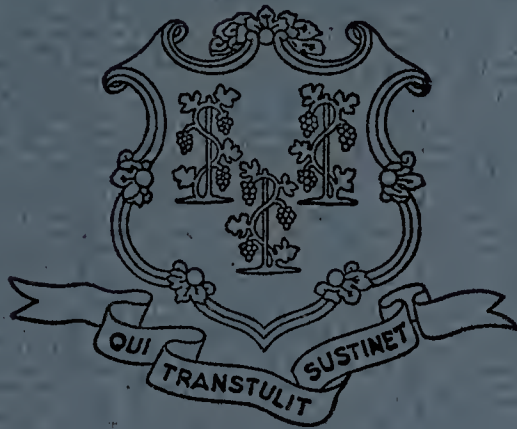
As this is written, a bill is pending in congress, of which the main controversial features are a proposed modification in the Federal Reserve structure looking toward stronger government, not to say political, control, and an extension of the guaranty of bank deposits.⁴ It may be said without fear of contradiction that these measures, in their proposed form, do not commend themselves to Connecticut bankers. By a recent act of the assembly of 1935 state banking institutions are prohibited from entering any deposit insurance plan to which an unlimited liability is attached. Connecticut has been a conservative state and will probably remain so.

⁴This sentence should be read with the understanding that, after this Pamphlet had gone to press, congress enacted and the president approved the federal banking act of 1935 which modifies in some respects the provisions to which reference is made.

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FOR a fuller account, consult Joseph G. Woodward, *Currency and banking in Connecticut* (in W. T. Davis, *New England states*, vol. 2, pp. 617-682). Some useful information will also be found in Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818* (Washington, 1918); Jarvis M. Morse, *Neglected period of Connecticut's history, 1818-1850* (New Haven, 1933); P. Henry Woodward, *One hundred years of the Hartford Bank* (Hartford, 1892); Charles W. Burpee, *First century of the Phoenix National Bank* (Hartford, 1914); and Henry W. Erving, *The Connecticut River Banking Company, one hundred years of service* (Hartford, 1925).

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A History of Insurance in Connecticut

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A History of Insurance in Connecticut

ARCHIBALD ASHLEY WELCH¹

I

INSURANCE as now known is a comparatively recent method of recompensing against loss by death, accident, fire, and all the other untoward happenings in life, yet insurance is actually as old as society itself.

When Thomas Hooker and his little band of early settlers first erected their huts, stockades, and meeting-house, each man knew that he could depend on all the others in the settlement to guard him from hostile Indians; to care for him if he were disabled; to help rebuild his home if it were burned; and to care for his dependent family if he should die. It was the most complete insurance coverage that one could have, and yet not a single contract was written and probably not a verbal promise

¹The manuscript for this Pamphlet was submitted to the committee only a short time before the lamented death of Mr. Welch on May 8, 1935. Consequently, the text has been printed as nearly as practicable as written, except that the statistical material has been brought up to date through the courtesy of the insurance commissioner. EDITOR.

was given. The character of their associates gave these settlers all the assurance that was needed.

As hamlets grew into villages, villages into towns, and towns into cities, more and more these responsibilities which had at first been personal and optional were assumed by the communal corporation. Fire and police departments, hospitals, and other municipal agencies ministered to the comfort and the safety of the citizens, but no recompense was provided for the sufferer by fire, accident, or death. Of course the hat was passed by sympathetic friends when some catastrophe had overwhelmed a near neighbor, but that was, for both the givers and the receivers, a most unsatisfactory method of providing recompense. It was but natural that some way should be found to provide the relief that now is secured through insurance. As had happened at other times and in other countries, so in Connecticut it was marine insurance that first made its appearance.

Hartford was at the head of sloop navigation on the Connecticut river, and at the close of the eighteenth century sea-borne trade was one of the profitable business ventures engaged in by the residents of Hartford, New Haven, New London, and several other Connecticut ports. These ventures entailed considerable financial risk, not alone from storms at sea but also from pirates and from ships of so-called friendly nations. Under such conditions there sprang up in Hartford a plan by which any losses that occurred were shared by others than the owner of the vessel, and in return for the risks these insurers shared in the profits of the voyage, if there were any.

This insurance was effected by contracts between individuals. A number of underwriters would agree to assume in specified proportions insurance on a vessel or cargo (later on goods or a house), one of their number

acting as agent for the group. Such early contracts were written by hand. But, in 1794, the first printed policy appeared and, because it is the oldest printed fire insurance policy that we have and the one from which present forms evolved, it is given below. The italics represent the pen-written parts of the document. It should be remembered, too, that the Hartford Fire Insurance Company mentioned in this policy was not the present well-known company of that name, as the latter was not incorporated until 1810. The company referred to in the policy was an unincorporated group of individuals who had become the underwriters of this particular risk.

WHEREAS *William Imlay, Esq., of Hartford*, or whom else it may concern, wholly or partly, Friend or Foe, doth make Assurance *on His House* against Fire, and all dangers of Fire; moreover against all Damage which on Account of Fire may happen, either by Tempest, Fire, Wind, own Fire, Negligence and Fault of own Servants, or of Neighbors, whether those nearest or furthest off; all external Accidents and Misfortunes; thought of or not thought of, in what manner soever the damage by Fire might happen; *for the space of one year commencing on the eighth day of February, 1794, and ending on the eighth day of February, 1795, both at twelve o'clock at Noon*, valuing specially and voluntarily the said *House at the Sum Insured*.—And the Assured, or whom it may concern, in case of Damage, or Hurt, shall need to give no Proof nor account of the Value; but the producing this Policy shall suffice. And in case it should happen that the said *House*, the Whole or Part, are burnt and suffer Damage, on that Account, we do hereby promise punctually to pay and ratify, within the space of three Months after the Fire shall have happened, due Notice having been given to us, and no Deduction to be made from the Sum assured except Two and an Half per Cent., provided said Loss amounts to Five per Cent., under which no Loss or Damage will be paid. And in case of a partial Loss, all that shall be found to be saved and preserved, shall be deducted, after the Deduction of the Charges paid for the saving and preserving;

and concerning which the Assured shall be believed on his Oath, without our alledging any thing against it. And so we the Assurers are contented, and bind Ourselves and Goods present and to come, renouncing all Cavils and Exceptions contrary to these Presents, for the true Performance of the Premises, the Consideration due unto us for this Assurance by the Assured, at and after the Rate of *one-half per cent.*

Reciprocally submitting all Differences to two Persons, One to be chosen by the Assured out of Three to be named by the Assurer, the other by the Assurer or Assurers, out of Three to be named by the Assured, who shall have full Power to adjust the same; but in case they cannot agree, then such two Persons shall choose a Third, and any two of them agreeing, shall be obligatory to both Parties.

In Witness Whereof, We the Assurers have subscribed our Names and Sums assured in *Hartford* the *8th* day of *February*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and *Ninety-four*.

£800 *Sanford & Wadsworth* } *Eight hundred*
for the *Hartford Fire Insurance Company* } *Pounds.*

II

WHEN protection had been developed thus far, the next natural step was to form corporations to take the place of individual underwriters. This occurred in Connecticut before the opening of the nineteenth century. The first insurance company incorporated in Connecticut is still in existence. In May, 1795, the Mutual Assurance Company of the City of Norwich was incorporated and began business. It issued policies only from its home office and through its agency in New London. From the beginning, it has never tried to secure a large amount of insurance, but has contented itself with insuring only the property of individuals known personally by the officers. In 1801 the Mutual Assurance Company was organized in New Haven, but very soon faded out of existence.

The oldest stock fire insurance company² in the state is the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, incorporated in 1810. Next in age is the Aetna [Fire] Insurance Company of Hartford, which was incorporated nine years later. Since these were the two outstanding companies organized in the first half of the nineteenth century—the formative period of stock fire insurance companies—it will be interesting to consider some points of their early history.

From the very beginning of insurance in Connecticut, this industry seems to have been initiated and developed by men of outstanding character and ability, men whom the present generation is proud to regard as its political and financial, if not its natural, forebears.

Woodward, in his *Insurance in Connecticut*, wrote:

Experiments in underwriting have been freely made in nearly all the cities of the state. With the exception of a few mutual fire companies, outside of a single town, almost every venture has ended in disaster. In many instances the tradition of their existence has faded out, even in the communities where they once flourished. If questioned on the point the local antiquary looks blank and asks for time. Of them it can generally be said that they were managed with ordinary ability, and were destroyed by extraordinary calamities.

Hartford stands forth a conspicuous exception. Though in size but a speck on the map of the world, she has few rivals in

²Marine insurance companies were incorporated at New Haven in 1797, at Hartford, Middletown, and Norwich in 1803, and at New London in 1805. These were apparently the earliest incorporated stock insurance companies in Connecticut. The Middletown company ceased operations about 1820, and the New Haven and New London companies in the 1830's. The Hartford company was made up substantially of the individuals who appeared as the Hartford Insurance Company in 1794 (incidentally, many of them were prominent original stockholders of the Hartford Bank, organized in 1792); this company was reorganized as the Protection [Fire] Insurance Company in 1825, which suspended operations in 1854 after a notable career. The company in Norwich became the Norwich Fire Insurance Company in 1818 and maintained a modest existence until overwhelmed by the Chicago fire in 1871. EDITOR.

underwriting, while the oldest, richest and biggest cities on the planet would be rash to claim superiority. To comprehend the situation as presented to-day we must review the history of the men who laid the foundations, and of their successors who have reared the superstructure.

In the first directorates of these two companies, the Hartford and the Aetna, were the following well-known names: Nathaniel Terry, Nathaniel Patten, David Watkinson, Daniel Buck, Thomas Glover, Thomas K. Brace, James H. Wells, Ward Woodbridge, and Henry Hudson forming one board; and Thomas K. Brace, Thomas Belden, Samuel Tudor, Jr., Henry Kilbourn, Eliphalet Averill, Henry Seymour, Griffin Stedman, Gaius Lyman, Judah Bliss, Caleb Pond, Nathaniel Bunce, Joseph Morgan, Jeremiah Brown, James M. Goodwin, Theodore Pease, Elisha Dodd, and Charles Babcock comprising the other. The stockholders of these companies included many other well-known men. These were the men to whom Woodward referred. Two events in fire insurance history will show how honestly and how courageously these directors met their responsibilities. They placed a hallmark on Hartford insurance that is now considered a priceless heritage.

In December, 1834, occurred the great New York fire. It leveled nearly seven hundred buildings and caused a loss of \$20,000,000, an amount which, one hundred years ago, seemed overwhelming. News of this disaster reached Hartford on a bitterly cold, winter morning. Eliphalet Terry, president of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, had no elaborate maps from which he could estimate the extent of his losses. All he knew was that the metropolis of the country had suffered from an unusual conflagration; that his company had insurance on buildings in the burned district; and that, if ever fire insurance

was to demonstrate its worth to society, this was the opportunity. He called at the Hartford Bank, secured a blanket promise to honor any and all drafts he might make on behalf of his company and, as security for this promise, pledged his private fortune. With the thermometer registering below zero, he started for New York in a sleigh. On his arrival, he found that most of the insurance companies of New York had become bankrupt. Sufferers from the fire were in consternation and despair, and property owners outside the burned districts had concluded that fire insurance had failed in its mission.

Terry refused to be overcome by the desolation about him. Calmly he announced that he would pay in full all claims against his company. At the same time, he offered new insurance to those who desired it. The effect of this quiet, businesslike statement from a gentleman whose manner betokened a thorough knowledge of the situation was electric. It brought mental as well as financial relief to the distressed sufferers and restored their confidence. By this bold act, the legitimacy of fire insurance protection was established by a Hartford man who had faith in the business of fire insurance, trust in the backing of his board of directors, and confidence that the courageous payment of just losses was the very best way to establish a similar faith, trust, and confidence in the minds of the public. His judgment was correct. Premiums came rushing in to the company which had met its obligations squarely. What at first had seemed a tragedy for the company, in the end turned out to be a blessing.

Eleven years later a second fire swept New York. It was not so devastating as the first but it was much more costly to another Hartford company, the Aetna. As soon as the news reached Hartford, Thomas K. Brace, president of the Aetna Insurance Company, called his board

of directors together and explained that the losses would probably exhaust the entire resources of the company. Going to the safe, he took all the certificates of stocks and bonds owned by the company and placed them on the directors' table. "What are you going to do, Mr. Brace?" asked one of his directors. "Do?" he replied, "I am going to New York to pay all our losses, if it takes every dollar there (pointing to the securities) and my own fortune as well." "We will stand back of you with our fortunes," came the quick response from his board. So, a second time, the faith, trust, and confidence of Hartford men in Hartford insurance were shown to the world. This New York fire of 1845 may well mark the end of the first chapter in the history of Connecticut fire insurance. The value to the community of fire insurance and the ability of Connecticut companies to furnish this service had been demonstrated—and in dramatic manner.

III

BETWEEN 1845 and 1871, the date of the great Chicago conflagration, nearly a score of new fire insurance companies was organized in Connecticut. Among them were the Connecticut, organized in 1850; the Phoenix, organized in 1854; the National, built in 1871 on the ashes of the Merchants which succumbed to the Chicago fire; and the Orient, launched in 1867—all of Hartford.

These four new corporations were formed with boards of directors and officers of the same character and ability as had brought success to the older companies. The evidence of this was the way in which all these Hartford companies fulfilled their obligations when Chicago was visited by the devastating fire of 1871. This story was succinctly told in the report of the Connecticut insurance commissioner published in 1872:

The Chicago Fire ranks as the most destructive of all modern conflagrations. A moderate estimate places the value of property actually destroyed by fire at One Hundred and Forty Million dollars. . . . About Ninety-Two Million dollars was covered by insurance, in two hundred and fifty-six companies, American and foreign. . . . Excepting alone those of Chicago, on no companies in proportion to numbers has the recent disaster borne more heavily than upon those of our own State. Of the eleven Connecticut companies involved in Chicago, viz: the Aetna, Hartford, Phoenix, City, Charter Oak, Connecticut, Merchants, North American, Putnam, Norwich, and Fairfield County, only four, the first three and last one named, survived, with the ability to pay losses in full. . . . With a promptness worthy of commendation, the officers of the Aetna, Hartford, and Phoenix, on ascertaining the extent of impairments called meetings of their respective stockholders and . . . voted to reduce capital 50 per cent., and subsequently voted to increase again to the former amounts. The new stock was promptly subscribed by the old stockholders of the respective companies, paid up and invested as required by law.

The honorable and business-like manner in which those companies have met the exactions of this emergency, has secured to each an enviable position in the insurance field.

The Connecticut Fire Insurance Company, while not able to pay its losses in full, effected a compromise with its creditors and reduced its capital to a nominal figure. Subsequently, however, it increased its capital to the full charter limit and immediately resumed business.

At this historic conflagration in Chicago, scenes similar to those enacted at the New York fires of 1834 and 1845 helped to restore confidence in the dazed minds of the sufferers. When news of the fire reached the office of the Phoenix Insurance Company, President Kellogg telegraphed to Marshall Jewell, a large stockholder and a director who happened to be in Detroit, asking him to do what he could in a personal visit. Woodward in his *Insurance in Connecticut* related his efforts:

On the morning of October 13th Governor Jewell stood on the bank of the river overlooking three thousand flame-swept acres from which a mighty city had vanished. Around was a surging, sullen, half-crazed, despairing crowd, which seemed to feel that even the foundations of the earth were crumbling with the destruction of their fortunes. Aware that the Phoenix had both the means and the will to meet every claim, Governor Jewell, not less prompt to act than quick to see, lost no time in making known the purpose of the company. Mounted on a dry-goods box . . . he announced that the Phoenix would pay all losses in full, and offered to draw his check on the spot for any claim approved by H. H. Magill, general agent of the western department. . . . Immediately the *Tribune* dropped from its window a huge placard, announcing that the Phoenix, of Hartford, had begun to pay its losses in full. As the news spread from one to another, the multitude cheered, and cried, and laughed by turns.

IV

AFTER the Chicago fire, there were eight Connecticut stock fire insurance companies licensed to do business. Of these, four were in Hartford: Aetna, Hartford, National, and Phoenix, with total assets of \$11,768,600.33; while the Fairfield County of South Norwalk, the Mutual Security of New Haven, the Norwalk of Norwalk, and the Peoples of Middletown together had assets of \$526,906.11.

From the Chicago fire to the San Francisco earthquake and fire was a period of thirty-five years of steady growth in Connecticut fire insurance—a growth and strength that were needed to meet the extraordinary claims from that extraordinary catastrophe. On April 18, 1906, the San Francisco earthquake occurred. The resulting fire raged for three days. Reports from San Francisco could not greatly exaggerate the loss that faced the citizens or their despair on viewing the smoking ruins.

A few days after this event, the finance committee of the senate was holding hearings in Washington on a proposed law regulating life insurance in the District of Columbia. At one session a man who had been a particularly active advocate of the restrictions adopted by the state of New York urged the senate committee to adopt similar restrictions. He followed up his argument with a statement that the government should also pass a law restricting the actions of fire insurance companies. "For," said he, "not a fire insurance company in the country today in the face of this disaster knows whether it is solvent or not."

Word of this statement reached one of the senators from Connecticut, Morgan G. Bulkeley, who immediately asked and received permission to be heard before the committee. He declared:

The statement reflecting upon the solvency of Connecticut fire insurance companies has been carelessly made by a man entirely ignorant of Connecticut fire insurance companies. I speak from the experience of a lifetime in Hartford and from that of a director of one of the largest fire companies in that city; and I do unhesitatingly affirm that the Hartford companies will pay in full every claim against them.

How well Senator Bulkeley's faith and confidence in Hartford fire insurance companies were grounded the following quotation from the report of the Connecticut insurance commissioner for 1907 will testify:

On October 1st, [less than six months after the disaster] I requested our home companies to report on the situation. That report showed that the companies had adjusted and paid practically all their losses in San Francisco. The figures are startling. The Connecticut companies alone paid in round numbers eighteen million dollars in that great disaster, and all of those companies are still in sound financial condition

with no doubt as to their ability to protect their policy-holders the country over. The record is unrivaled in the history of fire insurance.

The estimate of the character of corporations, like the estimate of the character of individuals or nations, is formed from a study of the manner in which they meet crises in their lives. Consequently, the four tragedies here recorded provided a dramatic background for reading the character of Connecticut fire insurance companies.

V

ON January 1, 1907, there were seven Connecticut stock fire insurance companies with combined assets of \$59,147,289.64. Of these, six: Aetna, Connecticut, Hartford, National, Orient, and Phoenix, were Hartford companies; the Security was domiciled in New Haven.

From 1907 the history of fire insurance in Connecticut has been a record of growth and strengthening and also of the addition of companies incorporated by the state. The table on the opposite page gives a list of the stock fire insurance companies operating in Connecticut December 31, 1934.

The earlier fire insurance companies deserve the credit for beginning the important work of assembling data and working out scientific methods which have transformed insurance from a business more or less speculative in character into a profession, able to minister wisely to economic and social needs because of its scientific mastery of the immense body of relevant information. The companies engaged in each particular line of insurance have owed their success, in no small measure, to the thoroughness with which they have amassed necessary information, perfected their control of it, and governed their procedure by the principles deduced therefrom. This

CONNECTICUT STOCK FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES

		<i>Capital</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Surplus</i>
Aetna	Hartford	\$ 7,500,000	\$ 43,989,433	\$ 15,677,243
Automobile	Hartford	5,000,000	18,368,291	4,667,679
Connecticut	Hartford	2,000,000	19,130,425	11,013,713
East and West	New Haven	1,000,000	2,739,590	1,176,602
Hartford	Hartford	12,000,000	84,343,198	33,039,770
Mechanics & Traders	Hartford	1,000,000	4,262,211	2,027,086
National	Hartford	5,000,000	40,001,773	15,831,217
Orient	Hartford	1,000,000	6,113,615	2,750,539
Phoenix	Hartford	6,000,000	37,779,222	21,250,119
Rossia of America	Hartford	1,500,000	6,795,708	1,706,508
Security	New Haven	2,000,000	9,657,301	2,982,791
Standard	Hartford	1,000,000	4,475,535	1,468,070
Travelers Fire	Hartford	2,000,000	18,473,116	2,558,842
World Fire & Marine	Hartford	1,000,000	4,819,488	2,567,022
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$48,000,000	\$300,948,911	\$118,717,206

valuable and indispensable type of experience alone has not sufficed; for the larger managerial responsibilities the highest type of business acumen, and the finest kind of business integrity have been proven essential. The failure of many companies in the earlier days, and the continued success of a few have provided unimpeachable evidence of these truths and have created a body of honored traditions which have for many years guided the Connecticut companies and assured them unquestioned prestige. As Woodward wrote, in words even truer today after the lapse of nearly forty years³:

Here leadership has been gained, not by luck or accident or favoring circumstances, but by profound study of the facts and principles involved in the business, by high native intelligence, sharpened to a keen edge in frequent adversities, by patient endurance through periods of misfortune, by heroic courage in meeting exceptional calamities, and not least by scrupulous integrity in dealings with the public.

The business, too, is conducted in a cosmopolitan spirit. Present managers have won their places not through favoritism or inherited influence, but through merit alone. Ability, character, technical skill, special gifts are welcomed from every quarter.

VI

As already stated, the first insurance company to be incorporated in Connecticut was the Mutual Assurance of Norwich which received its charter in 1795 and is still in existence. Nearly forty such mutual companies have been chartered in the state; many of them continued for a few years and then faded out. Some, however, have grown strong, and most of the survivors can show more than two thirds of a century of service. They all write

³This paragraph has been substituted by the editor for two brief paragraphs of less specific character by the author.

policies in a restricted locality and do not endeavor to grow large in assets (at the expense of safety in underwriting) by expanding their activities.

The following table describes the companies in existence on December 31, 1934, nine of them being small local corporations:

		<i>Incorporated</i>	<i>Assets</i>
Hartford County	Hartford	1831	\$3,156,930
Litchfield	Litchfield	1832	155,378
Middlesex Mutual	Middletown	1866	2,196,696
New London County	Norwich	1840	679,047
Danbury	Danbury	1850	241,762
Farmers'	Suffield	1853	
Guilford	Guilford	1903	
Harwinton	Harwinton	1856	
Madison	Madison	1855	
Mutual Assurance	Norwich	1795	
Patrons'	Glastonbury	1888	
Rockville	Rockville	1868	<hr/>
Washington	Washington	1862	
			\$6,429,815

There are also two small specialized mutual insurance companies: Connecticut Valley Mutual Hail and Hartford County Tobacco Growers'.

VII

IN 1863 James Goodwin Batterson, a Hartford businessman who was born in the nearby town of Bloomfield, Connecticut, while traveling in Europe, became interested in accident insurance as it was carried on there, and made a study of it with a view to introducing it in America. On reaching home he proceeded at once to interest his friends in the project, but found difficulty in persuading his fellow townsmen of the need for this insurance. At the end of a friendly but heated debate between Batterson and some of his business friends whom he had waylaid as they were starting home for their midday dinner, James Bolter, president of the Hartford

Bank, asked, "What will you charge to insure me for \$5,000 against accidental death on my way home to dinner and return?" "Two cents," snapped back the answer, and the two cents passed from Bolter to Batterson. Bolter returned to his bank after his noonday meal and Batterson retained his two cents, which are now framed and hung in the office of the Travelers Insurance Company.

Whether or not this was the convincing argument for the need and safety of accident insurance, Batterson, in that same year, secured his charter and the stockholders for his company. Originally it was planned to insure against the risk of travel only. This accounts for the name of America's first accident company: The Travelers Insurance Company. The following year, however, the charter was broadened to allow the company to provide protection against other hazards.

Many and difficult were the problems that lay before this pioneer company. There were no records of accidents in the various mills and manufacturing plants of the country which would furnish the data for calculating the premiums that would be required to insure men employed in the different occupations. Premium rates must be formulated by trial and experience, and many a similar company formed in the years succeeding the birth of the Travelers was buried by the losses resulting from inexperience in this hazard of accidents—and human nature. Only one of these unhappy companies was a Hartford corporation.

In 1865 the Travelers began to write life insurance on the nonparticipating plan. Its success in the accident field of underwriting enabled it safely to assume the heavy expense incident to the early years of writing life insurance at low stock rates. In addition, as society

changed its habits of life and new risks to life, health, and property appeared, the Travelers has continually broadened its field of operations to provide protection against such hazards. The Travelers was the first company in this country to become a "multiple line company": that is, one that, through one or more of its various lines, can furnish practically any form of protection a citizen may need. The success of the Travelers lured other Connecticut companies to assume additional lines of insurance. The table on the next two pages shows the extent to which Connecticut companies are guarding their policyholders against the various hazards to which they and their property are daily exposed.

No history of accident insurance in Connecticut would be complete without special mention of another form of protection entirely different from those already described. Woodward, in his book, *Insurance in Connecticut*, has well recounted the inception of this type of insurance:

In the year 1857 a coterie of young men in Hartford, drawn together by congenial aims, organized the "Polytechnic Club," with the view primarily of investigating and discussing questions of science in relation to practical utilities. Among the members were Elisha K. Root, who succeeded Colonel Colt in the presidency of the armory, Francis A. Pratt, Amos W. Whitney, E. M. Reed, Professor C. B. Richards, of Yale; Charles F. Howard, Joseph Blanchard, J. M. Allen, and others. Several members of this earnest but unpretentious club have since won international fame.

As a power coming more and more into use, but then under very imperfect control, steam became a favorite topic in the club. The results of foreign study and experiment were eagerly appropriated. Members discussed the causes of boiler explosions and means of prevention. It became known that the Manchester Steam Users' Association had already been organized in England with the view of preventing such accidents by periodical inspection. Under the system as started there the

CONNECTICUT ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANIES

Net Premiums Written during 1934, According to Classes of Business

	<i>Accident and Health</i>	<i>Auto Liability</i>	<i>Other Liability</i>	<i>Workmen's Compensation</i>	<i>Fidelity and Surety</i>	<i>Plate Glass</i>
Aetna Casualty and Surety.....	\$ 16,024.46	\$ 4,010,442.83	\$ 844,478.15	\$ 921,127.77	\$ 5,083,530.34	\$ 501,097.90
Aetna Life (Acc. Dept.).....	6,285,834.67	5,559,489.74	3,872,898.72	5,727,303.55	.....	.....
Century Indemnity.....	133,214.91	2,023,164.31	703,226.17	992,764.47	467,510.92	134,379.59
Connecticut General (Acc. Dept.)....	1,611,612.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut Indemnity.....	.....	190,920.44	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut Plate Glass.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First Reinsurance.....	194,340.48	256,449.81	98,813.54	.....	.....	.....
Hartford Accident and Indem.....	791,753.03	8,454,395.53	3,603,341.09	15.20	—2,720.07	.....
Hartford Steam Boiler.....	.....	.....	.....	6,760,872.13	5,064,381.21	466,717.94
Travelers (Acc. Dept.).....	12,214,437.24	15,110,548.42	5,875,210.23	13,990,901.25	.....	.....
Travelers Indemnity.....	.....	359,592.71	238,593.99	.....	.....	677,934.13
	<u>\$21,247,217.04</u>	<u>\$35,965,003.79</u>	<u>\$15,236,561.89</u>	<u>\$28,392,984.37</u>	<u>\$10,612,702.40</u>	<u>\$1,780,129.56</u>

CONNECTICUT ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANIES

Net Premiums Written during 1934, According to Classes of Business (cont.)

	Burglary and Theft	Steam Boiler and Machinery	Auto Property Damage and Collision	Other Property Damage and Collision	Various	Total Net Premiums
Aetna Casualty and Surety.....	\$1,627,933.05	\$ 135,785.93	\$3,416,950.18	\$ 99,997.71	\$462,419.42	\$17,119,787.74
Aetna Life (Acc. Dept.).....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21,445,526.68
Century Indemnity.....	196,941.75	.....	630,133.15	18,023.35	.....	5,299,358.62
Connecticut General (Acc. Dept.)....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,611,612.25
Connecticut Indemnity.....	.....	.....	62,205.89	.....	.....	253,126.33
Connecticut Plate Glass.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First Reinsurance.....	26,410.59	.....	1,544.56	630.56	.....	575,484.67
Hartford Accident and Indem.....	1,710,882.76	73.71	2,861,234.48	182,951.83	3,766.03	29,900,369.74
Hartford Steam Boiler.....	.....	5,867,443.42	.....	.....	.....	5,867,443.42
Travelers (Acc. Dept.).....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47,191,097.14
Travelers Indemnity.....	2,172,024.95	1,216,293.02	5,284,523.97	257,652.32	.....	10,206,615.09
	<u>\$5,734,193.10</u>	<u>\$7,219,596.08</u>	<u>\$12,256,592.23</u>	<u>\$559,255.77</u>	<u>\$466,185.45</u>	<u>\$139,470,421.68</u>

manufacturer paid a certain sum annually for examination, receiving in return either a certificate of the safe condition of his boiler or a report condemning it, but the certificate, like those in some places since issued by direct appointees of the state, involved no pecuniary obligation whatever, and if disaster occurred, the paper, while relieving the holder from the charge of carelessness, entitled him to no indemnity.

Although not one of the members of the Polytechnic Club was connected with insurance, the body unconsciously drew inspiration from the local predominance of the interest, which was then making Hartford famous as the home of skilled underwriters. In the course of the debates on the subject the attention of members was attracted to the feasibility of combining a guaranty with the inspection, thus giving both parties to the contract a pecuniary interest in the safety of the boiler. So far as known, the conception had not at that time materialized elsewhere. Although distinctly evolved in the club, the seminal idea waited several years for further development on account of the intervention of the Civil War.

A charter was procured in June, 1866, incorporating The Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, "for inspecting steam boilers, and for insuring against loss or damage to property arising from explosions or other accident in the use of steam boilers."

Their plan of combining inspection service with a guaranty in the form of insurance was so new that at first there was a reasonable doubt whether the project would be successful. But once again the story of Hartford insurance was retold—the story of character written into Hartford companies by Hartford men. The confidence of the public—plus the faith and persistence of the projectors, themselves—finally won. Today, in the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, there exists a strong, successful organization that is unique in this respect: only a small portion of its premiums is paid out in satisfaction of claims, while by far the greater part is invested in a humane, invaluable service—the prevention of accidents.

VIII

IN spite of the prominence attained by fire and marine insurance, after the first Connecticut company was founded in 1795, more than half a century passed before the state was ready to charter its first life insurance company. Even then, the idea was opposed by many good people who felt it was irreligious and immoral to substitute reliance on a human agency for confidence and trust in Divine Providence. A typical incident was told by Woodward in *Insurance in Connecticut*:

Elder Swan, a revivalist famous for rough eloquence, and for the lurid colors in which he painted the terrors of the law, in a sermon at an annual state convention, resolved to crush the pernicious novelty at a blow. Rising to a climax in denunciation, he said: "Suppose that Jesus, on His way to the Jordan, had met John among the foothills, and to the question, 'Whither goest thou?' John had answered: 'Behold, all these years have I trusted in the God of Israel, and have been sorely pressed by many troubles. Wist thou not that I go up to Jerusalem to get my life insured?' Would the church, my hearers, have outlived the few and feeble days of infancy had treachery so foul been permitted to occur and to pass unrebuked? If lack of faith was a sin then, it is a sin now. Avoid the snares of a perverse generation and say to the tempter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.' "

If Elder Swan were alive now and were to choose a text appropriate to Connecticut's Tercentenary, he could preach a sermon—with even greater vigor and conviction—from Psalms 118:22, "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner."

Only a comparatively few years after similar companies had been organized in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the state of Connecticut, during the May session of its general assembly in 1846,

incorporated its first life insurance company. This was the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company of Hartford. Like the first fire insurance company, it has always operated on the mutual plan and it is still in existence. It has never had any capital stock. In its early years, prompt payment of claims was assured by a guaranty fund of \$50,000 provided for in the charter. When no longer needed, this fund was retired. From the outset, the company has been officered by men prominent in finance and civic affairs, who have made it an important factor in molding those practices which have given to Connecticut life insurance the enviable reputation it bears.

The formation of other life insurance companies inevitably followed the successful launching of the Connecticut Mutual. But it was just as inevitable that they would not all succeed. Their brief histories are included, however, as a matter of record; and also because their failures indicate the extent to which they lacked the very characteristics that brought other Connecticut companies through to conspicuous success.

In 1847, the American Mutual Life Insurance Company of New Haven was organized. While it had the word "mutual" in its name, it had a capital stock and was anything but a mutual company in reality. In 1878, after its name had been changed to the National Capital Life Insurance Company, it succumbed to unwise handling of its assets.

The Connecticut Health Insurance Company was chartered in 1848 to insure the health of individuals. Buoyant imagination, however, ran far ahead of practicable possibilities, and losses, resulting from ignorance of the hazards involved, soon caused the company to withdraw from this branch of the business. Two years later its name was changed, and as The Hartford Life

Insurance Company, it was empowered to insure lives. For a while the company prospered and then, in attempting to enter the field of group insurance by insuring shiploads of negro slaves and coolies, it met its inevitable fate.

In 1850, the Charter Oak Life Insurance Company was organized. It began with a good directorate and it was successful in writing policies. But most of its capital stock had been paid for by notes and, in an endeavor to overcome this handicap, unfortunate financial plans were adopted. Later, its financial structure was further weakened by what would now be considered most unwise investments. In the end, the company went into a receiver's hands in order that its remaining assets might be sold for the benefit of its policyholders.

In 1862 the Continental Life Insurance Company of Hartford was chartered, and two years later its organization was completed—with a capital of \$150,000. Like the Charter Oak, this company seems to have been the financial football of certain individuals who, to say the least, were unwise. By order of the insurance commissioner, the Continental was placed in the hands of a receiver in 1887.

Looking from the high place which life insurance now holds in the financial structure of this state and of the nation, it is difficult to adopt even a charitable view toward these early failures. Yet, it should be remembered that in those pioneer days conditions were radically different from those now prevailing. The science of life insurance was then in its infancy. Financial resources and even available working data were often inadequate. A few individuals were actuated by private motives rather than by public welfare. Time was required to build traditions and to obtain much needed experience. For the same reason, all the more credit is due to those men whose

judgment, foresight, and ability did overcome the handicaps of those early years, and whose courage and robust character guided Connecticut's other life insurance companies safely through difficult times and laid the groundwork for their present enviable position.

IX

IN 1851, at a time when the country was stirred with the thought that the way to salvation lay through total abstinence, a group of enthusiasts, among them prominent lawyers and philanthropists of Hartford, conceived the idea that a life insurance company which insured only total abstainers would enjoy a lower mortality than other companies. Accordingly, they organized the American Temperance Life Insurance Company under a Connecticut charter which required each applicant for insurance to sign a pledge of total abstinence. If the pledge was broken, the policy was to become void. Many agents of the company were temperance exhorters who, after their meetings in the various towns, gave their listeners an opportunity to serve God and insure in a good company at the same time.

In about ten years, it was found that total abstainers were not numerous enough to support the company. The name was then changed to the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company and thereafter its policies were not conditioned on total abstinence. About thirty years later an interesting comparison was made. The mortality then experienced among the teetotalers proved to be nearly ten per cent lower than that among the more recent policyholders of the company. It cannot be held, however, that this lower mortality was due entirely to total abstinence. Men selected because they had high ideals of life and principles they were not ashamed to observe,

might easily show a mortality more favorable than that of a group not so selected.

In 1889, the officers of the company secured legislation that gave the policyholders (through the company) the right to purchase the stock and make the organization purely mutual. This change was effected in December, 1889, and the plan of mutualizing was so carefully and equitably devised that it was followed by many New York companies after the Hughes investigation in 1905-06.

The Phoenix Mutual has made many important contributions to the institution of life insurance. Notable among them is the fact that it was the first company to insist that all its agents be carefully chosen, thoroughly trained, and then required to give their entire time to the service of the company and its policyholders.

By charter amendment in 1820, the Aetna [Fire] Insurance Company obtained authority to grant annuities provided additional capital were raised and set aside for the exclusive benefit of the annuitants. This privilege had not been used, however, when the company obtained authority, by a second amendment in 1850, to grant insurance upon lives. After a brief experience, it was considered best to organize a separate company. Thus the Aetna Life Insurance Company was formed in 1853 by still another amendment to the charter, and started on its own independent way.

Success has attended the Aetna Life from the beginning. In addition, it has gradually increased its various lines of activity until today it writes (under its own charter or that of subsidiary companies formed and owned by it) almost every form of insurance, including accident, fire, and liability. It has thus become a multiple line company, able to protect its policyholders and their property against almost any ordinary hazard. Connecti-

cut has been the first state to incorporate such multiple lines companies as the Travelers and the Aetna Life.

The Travelers Insurance Company, as already mentioned,⁴ began to write life insurance in 1865, offering so-called nonparticipating insurance, with premiums at low, guaranteed rates.

In 1866 a new life insurance company was formed for a new purpose. The original idea was to issue life insurance, at higher premium rates, to those applicants who, on account of physical impairments or occupation, were not acceptable to other companies. At that time, however, no facts or statistics were in existence which would make possible the proper rating of a so-called "substandard" risk. Furthermore it soon became evident that those who could not obtain standard policies were not at all anxious in those days to accept policies at advanced premium rates. The whole project was given up after two years and, ever since, the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company has provided standard insurance in the usual manner. Its insurance plans, practices, and rates are similar to those of the other Hartford companies having capital stock.

The Hartford Accident Company was organized in 1866 to write accident insurance. In 1868, however, the organization began to write life insurance and changed its name to the Hartford Life and Annuity Company. From 1880 to 1898, this company used a form of assessment or natural-premium insurance, known as the "Safety Fund" plan. In time, this plan proved to be impractical because of the increasing premiums required of those who survived to old age. The company resumed its "old line" or level-premium plan in 1899, but in 1912 it reinsured all such business in another company. It then

⁴See above, p. 16.

continued to care for its "Safety Fund" business until 1934 when the guaranty fund matured the remaining certificates.

In the middle of the nineteenth century this country was not what it is today, and life insurance policies reflected the state of the country and society. A typical policy of that period provided forfeiture if the insured "shall die upon the seas, or by his own hand, or in a duel." It likewise forbade the insured, without the previous consent of the company in writing, to "pass beyond the settled limits of the United States, excepting into the settled limits of the British Provinces of the Two Canadas, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick"; and finally, it was provided that without written consent, the insured was forbidden "to visit those parts of the United States which lie south of the thirty-sixth degree of North Latitude, between the first of June and the first of November, or to pass to, or west of, the Rocky Mountains." As the frontiers were pushed farther and farther west and the West became more and more settled with law-abiding folk, the restrictions of the original policies gave place to privileges undreamed of before.

It would be impossible in a survey like this to describe a modern life insurance policy. It is sufficient to say that the modern policy cannot be vitiated by travel, residence, or occupation, and has stated values, increasing annually, which are available at the option of the insured, for surrender for cash, for loan on security of the policy, or for conversion of the policy into a full-paid contract of term or life insurance.

The foregoing is a very brief history of the life insurance companies that have been chartered by the state of Connecticut. Five of them came safely and proudly through the trials and dangers incident to the early years

of existence, and are now firmly established. Two are purely mutual: the Connecticut Mutual and the Phoenix Mutual. Three are stock companies: the Travelers, the Aetna Life, and the Connecticut General. All have been brought to their present strength by groups of men who, through financial and business ability and integrity, have left the impress of their characters upon the corporations which they governed. The standing of these companies on December 31, 1934, appears in the following table:

	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Capital and Surplus*</i>	<i>Insurance in Force</i>
Aetna	\$465,572,083	\$26,470,477	\$ 3,400,504,967
Connecticut General	171,310,376	7,346,113	985,861,704
Connecticut Mutual	245,464,300	9,187,732	892,630,938
Phoenix Mutual	179,480,906	5,818,450	583,611,121
Travelers	723,999,274	37,004,961	4,195,582,368
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,785,826,939	\$85,827,733	\$10,058,191,098

* Surplus only, in the case of mutual companies.

X

IN 1905 and 1906 occurred the investigation into the affairs of life insurance companies, conducted by the state of New York through the Armstrong committee guided by Charles Evans Hughes (now chief justice of the United States) as its legal adviser. The effects of this investigation were far-reaching, and the restrictions and requirements of the resultant legislation have since proven a boon not only to the public but to the life insurance business itself.

One practice severely condemned and thereafter forbidden was the issuing of so-called tontine policies. Such a policy provided for the distribution of its share of surplus only at the end of a definite period, such as ten or twenty years, and then only if the policy was still in

force. If a policyholder allowed his policy to lapse or surrendered it, or died, before the end of the tontine period, his policy lost all right to share in the surplus or dividend funds then being accumulated by the company. On the other hand, those policyholders who survived the period received not only their own shares but also the shares forfeited by those who withdrew too soon.

The tontine policy was a good contract. Its particular method of apportioning dividends ironed out many inequalities. It was just to pay a larger dividend to policyholders who persevered and paid the greater number of premiums. But in actual operation, the tontine policy brought many evils in its train. First and foremost was the tendency of agents to be too optimistic in their estimates of future dividends when soliciting insurance. Even conservative agents found it almost impossible to make correct estimates. As a result, the prospectus of a tontine policy became in its day what the prospectus of a get-rich-quick concern was during the boom period in 1928 and 1929. A further evil was the extravagance which the plan fostered among the companies themselves. Since dividends were not declared annually, they did not become liabilities and, as surplus, could be very easily used to pay exorbitant commissions.

The existence of tontine insurance in New York companies had raised annoying problems for Connecticut companies. Their agents could write only annual-dividend policies and they found it difficult to sell their policies in competition with tontine plans. For years they besieged their home offices asking for similar policies, and it is to the credit of Connecticut companies that they were able to withstand such incessant demands. Old habits of thought and old traditions strengthened their judgment so that, when the Connecticut companies ap-

peared before the New York committee, they were found guiltless.

The Armstrong investigating committee finally drew up an insurance code to regulate New York companies and out-of-state companies desiring to do business in the state of New York. It was a drastic code, judged by the common practices of the time, but it has since proven to be a blessing to the whole industry of life insurance. Among other things, the new code required companies severely to curtail their expenses. Many, unwilling to subject themselves to the restrictions the code imposed, refused to reënter the state to do business. All five Connecticut companies, however, voluntarily accepted the conditions and have continued to write insurance in New York state ever since.

XI

CONNECTICUT statutes governing insurance, as enacted from time to time by the general assembly, constitute a sound body of laws, well balanced between conservatism and progressiveness. The members of the general assembly, as well as the larger public, have been apparently impressed by the high character and sound methods of the management of Connecticut's insurance companies so that the laws mainly embody established practice and are remarkably free from petty and hampering restrictions.

The office of insurance commissioner was established in Connecticut in 1865 under statutes enacted in 1864 and 1865. The work of the office has steadily grown in amount and scope, and has resulted in increasingly valuable services to the insurance interests of the state—to the patronizing public as well as to the companies.

Under the statutes, numerous insurance companies of the several types incorporated in other states are licensed

by the insurance commissioner to do business in Connecticut. Likewise various companies incorporated in other countries are licensed to transact business in the state. Some of these foreign companies, such as the Caledonian, the London and Lancashire, and the Scottish Union and National, have won well-established positions in the insurance business of the state.⁵

All Connecticut companies have assumed, from time to time, risks which were not even contemplated in earlier years. New needs in the nation's social and financial life have continually been met by new types of contract and new forms of insurance.

Important among such developments was the desire of many corporations to aid in providing insurance for the families of employees who died in their service. This desire was met by the insurance companies through the preparation of group insurance plans under which groups of individuals, usually employees of a corporation, could be insured under a single contract or agreement. Such group insurance is now being written by all three Hartford stock companies: the Aetna, the Travelers, and the Connecticut General. In like manner, group annuities are also being written to provide retirement pensions for groups of employees.

About twenty years ago all Connecticut companies (in common with many other companies throughout the country) began to include in their policies, when desired, a provision which insured against total and permanent disability. The plan was to provide a monthly income for life and to make the policy fully paid, whenever the insured became permanently and totally disabled.

At first, this provision seemed to be an ideal benefit. Many who were suffering from fatal diseases had their

⁵The three preceding paragraphs have been inserted by the editor.

insurance continued in force without further cost and also received monthly incomes to care for them and make their last days more comfortable. The companies, however, had not made allowance for the operation of a psychophysical law, the effect of which Germany had experienced prior to the World War. When an insured public becomes thoroughly familiar with all the benefits provided in event of certain untoward happenings, that educated public becomes peculiarly susceptible to the very untoward happenings against which it is insured. "Pensionitis" was a well-defined epidemic that swept Germany before the World War and claimed many "victims" who were covered by the compulsory insurance provisions of the German law.

In this country, the same infection seemed to attack many holders of total disability contracts and so dulled their sensibilities as to make it impossible for them to differentiate between permanent and temporary disabilities, or between total and partial disabilities. As a result, the number of claims and the seriousness of the disabilities exceeded all calculations. Finally, many American companies found it necessary to refuse to issue any more policies with disability income benefits. Those that continue to issue such benefits are imposing restrictions and requiring greatly increased premiums.

Another new provision quite generally adopted in recent years is known as the double-indemnity benefit. For a small additional premium, many companies undertake to double the ordinary benefits of their policies whenever the death of the insured results from accidental means.

When the United States entered the World War, the life insurance companies of the country offered their facilities to the government in carrying out the war-risk

insurance that had been agreed upon, but the companies were told that their services were not needed. Again, when the war was over and the army disbanded, the services of the companies for such purposes as collecting premiums, paying losses, and changing policies, were offered—and again refused.

No extra premiums were charged by Connecticut companies for oversea or other active service on policies in force when the World War broke out, but such extra premiums were charged on policies issued after hostilities began.

Near the close of the war in 1918, an epidemic of influenza swept the entire world and brought heavier losses to the companies than the war itself had entailed. Though the death rate doubled, all claims were promptly paid in full. To ease the load, policy dividends were temporarily decreased, but now no scar remains from that tragic period.

As Connecticut's fire insurance companies were judged, so must its life insurance companies be judged: by the way in which they have passed through the storms and met the crises of their existence. These tests have been not only wars and epidemics, but also financial panics or depressions which, especially during the past forty years, have disrupted the business of the country with surprising frequency. Some were of long, others of short, duration. Some greatly affected the public; others did not. Yet each, in proportion to the resources of the companies at the time, tested their stability and added to their experience.

XII

PERHAPS the greatest strain that has ever been placed upon the life insurance business has been experienced during the depression which began in 1929. When the

Wall Street bubble burst, a great demand for policy loans and cash values came almost immediately from those policyholders who needed more and more money to meet the rapidly increasing margins called for by their brokerage houses and banks from which they had made loans. Banks, hard pressed to meet their own obligations, advised their borrowers to repay their loans by borrowing the necessary money from the life insurance companies as provided in their policies. In 1933, when the bank holiday was declared, frenzied men all over the country turned to their life insurance companies to get the cash their banks were unable to provide.

During the three darkest years of the depression, 1930, 1931, and 1932, the life insurance companies of the country met a greater demand for cash than was ever anticipated. Through policy loans, cash values, maturing endowments, annuities, and death claims, they paid *in cash* more than *six billion* dollars!

For a short period following the closing of all banks in the country in 1933, regulations were adopted in many states to protect the interests of all policyholders until confidence could be restored. These regulations permitted death claims, annuities, and endowments to be paid in full, but limited the amounts of other cash withdrawals from life insurance companies. The emergency soon passed and full payments were resumed. It is significant that every Connecticut company—except when not permitted to do so—met all demands for cash promptly and in full, and was able to make such heavy payments without sacrificing securities and without borrowing.

In addition to all these exceptional conditions that tested their ability to meet unusual demands, the insurance companies had to face other problems arising from the depression. Security prices fell. Real estate

values declined. Delinquent mortgages increased. Never before in modern times have trust-fund investments been subjected to a greater strain. The way in which Connecticut companies have met that strain clearly reveals the underlying strength of their investment structure. Their stability and their reputations are a priceless endowment from the insurance leaders of the past, who established traditions of fair dealing and conservative management that are being ably administered by the insurance leaders of the present.

Connecticut life insurance companies have more than kept pace with the general growth of life insurance during the past twenty years. In 1914 their outstanding policies provided more than \$1,200,000,000 of protection. Twenty years later, this total had grown to over \$10,000,000,000. Today their annual issue of new insurance is more than the entire amount in force in Connecticut companies twenty years ago. During the same period, the total yearly income of Connecticut life insurance companies increased from \$53,000,000 to more than \$375,000,000, while their assets grew from \$322,000,000 to \$1,650,000,000. In the meantime, step by step with these gains, the sums paid to policyholders and their beneficiaries increased. During the year 1914, the total of such payments (not including policy loans) was about \$30,000,000. By 1934, these payments had grown almost sevenfold to a total exceeding \$200,000,000 for the year.

Bruce Barton, well-known author and publicist, has said:

I like to think of Hartford as a city that has been built upon faith. It impresses me to think of the faith of those millions of people all over the land who, day by day, send millions of dollars into a city they may never see and to insurance companies they may never visit. Hartford receives millions of dollars of savings, but it does not stop there. It

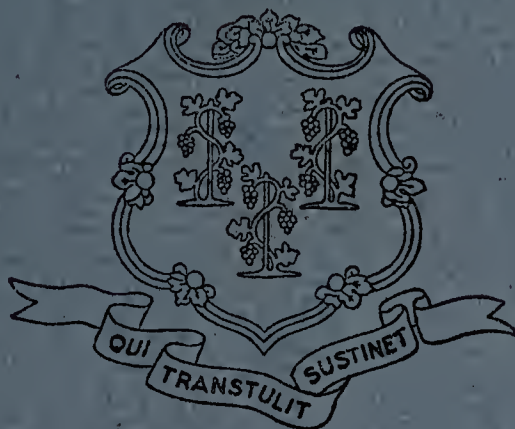
returns, every day, countless marvelous streams of blessings to those in need. On both sides the faith is kept, though most of the transactions are between utter strangers.

Mr. Barton happened to be speaking about Hartford and its life insurance companies, but his words can be applied with equal justification to the state of Connecticut and all the great insurance institutions within its borders. In fact, Hartford's life insurance companies will never forget that, in those early days when they began to spread their agency activities over a rapidly developing country, Connecticut fire insurance companies had preceded them and had already established such a reputation for sound insurance and prompt payment of claims that the way was made much smoother for their own development. Side by side, for nearly three quarters of a century, Connecticut's life, fire, and casualty companies have "kept the faith" and have made the name of this state synonymous with good, sound insurance, whatever the form.

Bibliographical Note

THE author acknowledges with gratitude the privilege of quoting liberally from P. Henry Woodward, *Insurance in Connecticut* (in W. T. Davis, *New England states*, vol. 2, pp. 499-516), which was also published separately (Boston, 1897). Other accounts appeared in Charles W. Burpee, *Hartford county* (3 vols., Indianapolis, 1929), Norris G. Osborn, *History of Connecticut* (6 vols., New York, 1925-1928), and George L. Clark, *History of Connecticut* (New York, 1914). Several companies, including Aetna Insurance Company, Hartford Fire Insurance Company, Hartford County Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and Travelers Insurance Company, have published their own histories.

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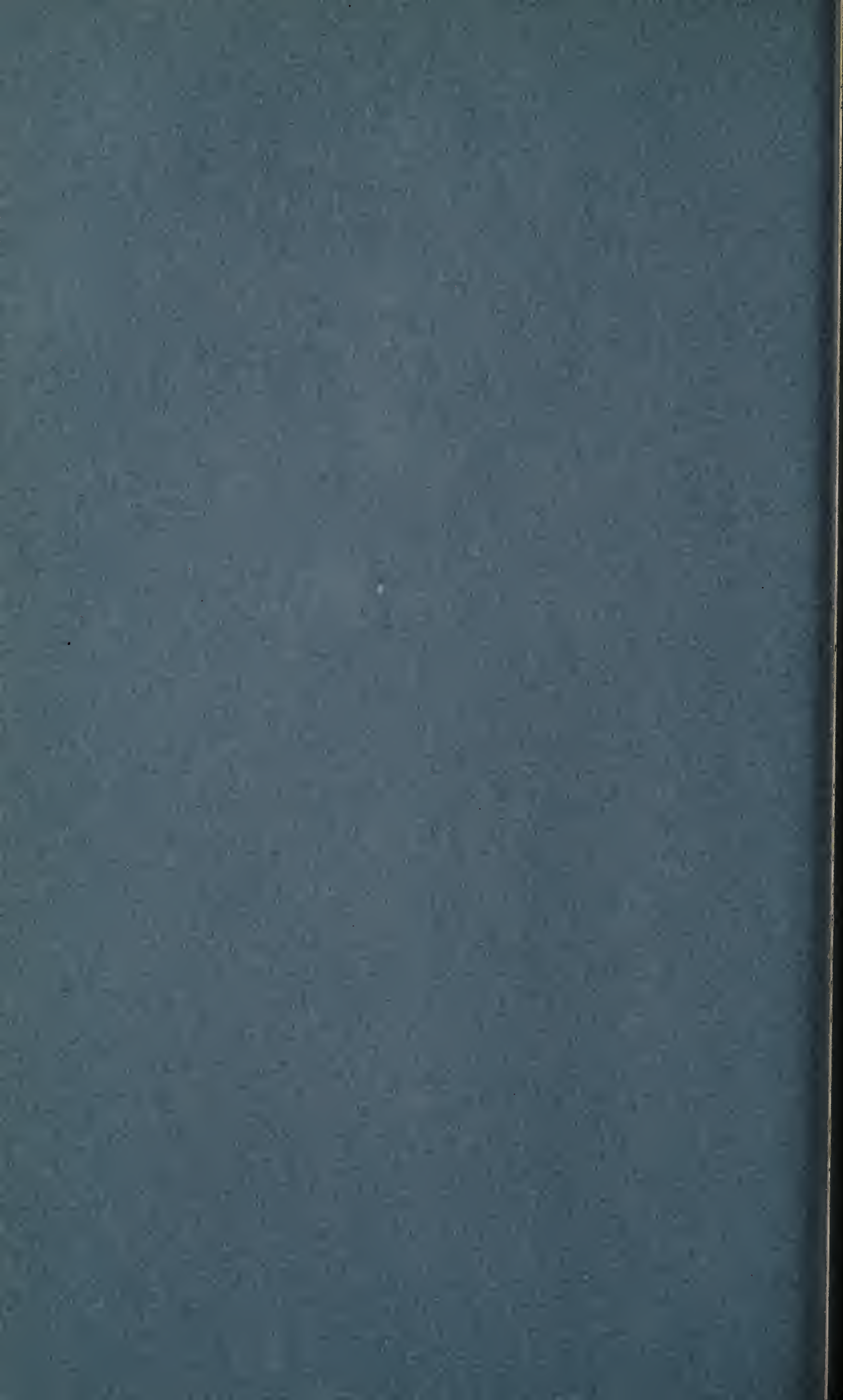
XLIV

*The Rise of Manufacturing in
Connecticut, 1820—1850*

CLIVE DAY

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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XLIV

*The Rise of Manufacturing in
Connecticut, 1820—1850*

CLIVE DAY

I

THE enterprise of the people of Connecticut has disclosed itself through various channels; but more conspicuously by a spirit of traffic and emigration." Such was the summary written by Pease and Niles in their *Gazetteer* of the state published in 1819. In the last thirty years, the authors said, "the current of emigration of this State has swelled to a torrent." They estimated the emigrants and their descendants to number over seven hundred thousand, while at the time they wrote, the number of inhabitants remaining in the state was under three hundred thousand. Connecticut was a good place to get away from. And so it continued to be for years to come. While the United States as a whole showed in every decade an increase in population of some thirty-five per hundred, Connecticut had to be content with a puny four or five per hundred. Birth control was still below the horizon. Babies swarmed,

as they had in colonial times, but when they grew up they left home to make a living.

These conditions lasted down to the decade ending in 1850. In that decade the population of Connecticut took a sudden jump. The rate of increase rose from four per cent to nineteen. Thereafter the population grew at a rate sometimes approaching the national average, and, in one decade at the very close of the century, actually exceeded it. About 1840, with an abruptness rare in economic history, the state entered a new period of development. To describe and explain this transformation is the object of this paper.

“Traffic and emigration” were the forms of enterprise in which Connecticut was conspicuous before 1840. The reasons for the emigration will become apparent when the nature of the traffic in which the people of the state were engaged in this earlier period is considered.

II

It is a commonplace of economics that any district will export those wares in the production of which it has the greatest comparative advantage, which will bring the largest return with the least effort expended. It is possible, therefore, to gauge the productive capacity of Connecticut in the first part of the nineteenth century by analyzing the list of its exports, for these must represent the best offerings which it could make in the outside market.

Again one must turn to Pease and Niles, the best source of information on the time at which they wrote. Connecticut took, in the economic life of the period, a position much like that taken at the present day by some Middle Western state like Iowa or Minnesota. It specialized in the provision of foodstuffs to other states and other coun-

tries. To the eastward Connecticut sent Indian corn, rye, and oats in large quantities. It sent southward some cider, butter, and cheese, and some manufactures which will be the subject of discussion later. It shipped to the West Indies and other foreign ports horses, beef, pork, and lumber; and it provided the New York market with shad, beef, potatoes, and other table supplies. The description could be pretty well matched by similar accounts dating from the eighteenth century—one is tempted to say, even from the seventeenth. Most of the exports were the raw products of the soil. A town was fortunate if it could establish a reputation for some agricultural specialty. The *Gazetteer* described the “novel and interesting” sight of the farms at Wethersfield from which over a million bunches of onions were exported every year: “The growing vegetable exhales its strong savour. The atmosphere becomes impregnated, and the luscious qualities of the onion are wafted far and wide, upon every passing breeze.” Some products of agriculture had passed through the first and simplest processes of manufacture. Windham county was a dairy region from which large quantities of cheese, butter, and pork were sent abroad every year. Grain grown in the state was made into flour at the local gristmill, or along the shore of the Sound at towns which had become noted as milling centers. The largest mills in the state were at Stamford and processed flour exclusively for export.

The most important industrial product sent abroad had still in it the tang of the soil; it was alcoholic liquor distilled from domestic materials. Gin greatly exceeded in importance any other manufacture exported. The *Gazetteer* of 1819 asserted: “There is probably no town in the United States where there is as great a quantity of spirit made from grain as in East Windsor.” The distil-

leries of that town, including Warehouse Point, paid taxes amounting to over \$20,000 to the collector of internal revenue in 1816. In old Windsor, "almost every respectable farmer has a small distillery upon his own premises," where he made cider brandy.

III

OTHER products of manufacture are not described here because they were still unimportant in Connecticut's export trade. The *Gazetteer* referred to them: tinware, clocks, hats, shoes, buttons, carriages, and so forth. But it left them in the background, with no suggestion of the part which they and products like them were to play in the future of the state. To understand the Connecticut of the time, particularly the reasons why so many inhabitants were leaving it, one must forget these infant industries and attend to the conditions under which most of the people lived.

When the *Gazetteer* was published, only three towns in the state had a population over five thousand; New Haven had over eight thousand, but Hartford and Middletown did not reach seven thousand. The mass of the people, an overwhelming majority, lived in little villages of a few hundred families. Even in 1840 the density of population, sixty-four to a square mile, was nearly the same as that shown in the 1930 census by North Carolina and Kentucky. If everybody in the state had lived by agriculture there was land enough to give each family a fifty-acre farm. The "cities" long retained rural characteristics. The first President Dwight of Yale denied that most inhabitants of New Haven had farms, but he boasted that "The city of New Haven contains probably as many good kitchen gardens as any town in the state." It looked like a country town to Jerome when he saw it in 1812,

with loads of wood and chips lying in front of the houses, and with acres of land devoted to cornfields.

To understand the conditions which preceded the rise of modern manufactures, it is important to realize, not only that the large towns were rural but also that the little towns and villages were industrial to an extent unknown in a later period. The trade in the products of manufacture was still so slight that self-sufficiency was the rule, as it had been in the colonial period. Each family made what it could for itself, and satisfied most of its remaining requirements by the labor of artisans living in the immediate vicinity. The colonial practice of making cloth in the household still persisted in 1819. "With the exception of the cities," it was said "almost every family manufactures the substantial woolen fabrics for their own consumption." Carding machines and cloth-dressing establishments were scattered all over the state, and were a regular part of the equipment of each town. Some towns in Windham county had "a loom in almost every house," where the domestic manufacture supplied "almost exclusively the substantial fabrics of clothing for the inhabitants." This family manufacture was, however, rapidly fading away, undermined by the cheaper product of the factories. A report of 1832 from this same county of Windham said that the household manufacture of textiles had "mostly ceased in this section of the country, for the farmers can exchange their produce at a cheaper rate than they can manufacture"; and a state official made much the same report for Connecticut as a whole.

If the family bought its cloth from some outside source it still depended on artisans in the vicinity to make most of those things which could not be made at home. Every town as a matter of course had a sawmill to supply its building materials, and a gristmill to turn the local grain

crop into meal or flour. Almost every town had a tannery, and most towns had men and women to make their footwear. Every town had its blacksmiths and most had wheelwrights able to meet the local demand for wagons and carriages. The people of an individual town might not have the special artisans to meet less general needs, but would certainly not have to go far to find them: cabinetmakers for their furniture, harnessmakers, makers of the various agricultural implements, tanners for their kitchenware, hatters for their headgear. The statistics of 1845 show such a general distribution of these artisans through the towns of the state that it may be safely assumed that the normal market for their products was very limited—certainly not county-wide.

IV

IF the list above includes most of the products needed for a simple life it obviously does not include them all. The housewife would want not only cloth but also needle and thread, a thimble and buttons, some glass and earthenware; the man would want some tools, some hardware, perhaps some books; the family would want its tea or coffee, its sweetening, its pepper and salt and spice.

Payment for these wares, in large part imported into the state from abroad, involved in turn finding something in the state which could be produced on terms that enabled it to be sold outside. This was the problem set to residents of Connecticut, and it was a hard one. The export of the products of agriculture, enumerated in the *Gazetteer* of 1819, was no real solution. Any resident of the state knows that its glacial soil, outside the narrow area of the river valleys, yields grain crops with reluctance. With the crude fertilizers and simple implements of a century ago, hard labor was but sparingly repaid.

Animal husbandry fared better on the grass of the meadows and pastures. Yet anyone who faced the problem of making a living from the Connecticut soil, and of winning from it a surplus which would buy him the comforts of life, might well be daunted by the outlook and choose rather to emigrate.

Faced by this problem the people of Connecticut were forced into manufacturing if they would stay at home and live. Grinding necessity was the mother of Connecticut manufactures. "Waterbury," in the words of her historian, "owes her prosperity to the poorness of her soil"; a wealthy city grew up on the site of "Pusleytown" because there, even in Connecticut, the soil deserved a term of contempt. The natural advantages for manufacture were very scanty. The water power, so often cited to explain the rise of industries, was no better than that of many other states—was in fact not so good as that of other states in the East. There was good iron ore and a little copper, but again, no monopoly of either. It is characteristic that the first manufacture to establish a market outside the state—that of tinware—worked on imported materials and used no power; the same was true of another early export industry, the Danbury hat trade. Physical resources were scanty; capital was scanty; the one essential element present in abundance was labor.

V

THIS last term, labor, is ambiguous and may be misleading. It is used here to embrace the whole human element, brains as well as hands. The importance of the distinction will appear in this survey of Connecticut's industrial development. In the individual, brain and hands work together. In a group their functions can be separated. Brains take control, direct the hands of others, and enable

the group as a whole to accomplish immeasurably more than could the individuals working separately, each dependent on his own vision for direction.

Labor in the manual sense was cheap in the first part of the nineteenth century. Young men would go to work about 1813 for Simeon North, the pistol maker of Berlin, for \$6 or \$8 a month as apprentices, and would get \$12 a month as skilled hands. Board could be had then and much later at \$1.50 to \$2 a week, but there were bad years when working people felt the pinch of real privation. Chauncey Jerome, the clockmaker, got work as a joiner in Farmington in 1815 at \$20 a month, and married, but if one can believe his recollections, he had to pay in that year \$13 a barrel for flour, 75c. a gallon for molasses, 34c. a pound for brown sugar, \$1 a yard for cotton cloth no better than what he could buy in his later life for 10c. Comprehensive statistics of 1832 show that Connecticut textile factories paid men \$1 a day, women 35c., children about 21c. Children were defined as those *under* twelve years of age; and the usual working time in Connecticut shops and factories was twelve hours a day. In special trades and in large towns such as New Haven, the rate of pay ran up to \$1.25 a day and even more, but in less skilled work such as shoemaking, and in the country districts, the rate was under \$1, and the monthly earnings might be \$15 or \$20. Philip Corbin, the founder of a great hardware industry in New Britain, went to work in a factory in 1844 at \$14 a month, boarding himself, instead of choosing farm work at \$12 to \$15 with board included. Even these modest wages were not paid promptly; till many years later New Britain factories paid their employees once a month, and reserved two weeks' pay. When Corbin introduced weekly payments in 1879 his employees celebrated by a procession with a band.

Low as these wage scales seem at the present day they were no different from those in neighboring states, and in many cases were above the European standard. If the people of Connecticut were to be given a living at home they could not count on employment merely because they were willing to work so cheaply. They fared no better on the farm. The agent of a Pomfret cotton factory, whose policy was to "hire poor families from the farming business, of from four to six children," calculated that the farmer before had earned a yearly income of \$180 to \$200, while the whole family at work in the factory would receive \$450 to \$600—and, he said, could save money!

VI

HANDS there were in plenty in Connecticut, as the low wage scale sufficiently attests. What was needed was brains to direct the hands. The great problem for brains to solve was the problem of the market—how to sell the goods which the people here were ready to make if a purchaser could be found for them. Today there is an elaborate marketing system, based on the automobile truck, the railroad, the post, and telegraph service, and on the trained specialists who combine to put goods where they are wanted. Consequently, one can hardly conceive the difficulties which then faced a manufacturer in Connecticut who sought to build up those connections with distant purchasers which were essential if he were to establish an industry in the state. He had one advantage—and this was about his only one—proximity to the city of New York which was growing rapidly in wealth and population, and which had established itself as the natural distributing center of industrial products. From New York water routes led to the interior and to the richest market of the time, the Southern states. The

profits of cotton growing absorbed so far the energy of the South that it had little time to spend on other products; but cotton gave it plenty of money to buy them. The Southerners were in large measure right, when they asserted that Northern industries were built on a foundation of slave-grown cotton.

In the book, *New England's prospect*, 1933,¹ one of the authors, C. E. Artman, criticized the manufacturers of the region for attending so much to the making of goods that they neglected the problem of sales. "New England character in the past expressed itself primarily in production. Yankee shrewdness was confined mainly to the technique of manufacturing, while distribution and market promotion were left largely to shift for themselves. Out of this arose almost a scorn of trading. 'Let the goods speak for themselves' was the general attitude." Denying Emerson's remark that if a man makes something very good, even a mousetrap, the world will wear a path to his door, the author concluded: "The mousetrap must be taken to the people who have mice to catch." Whatever truth there may be in the criticism as applied to recent times it certainly did not hold true of the formative period of Connecticut manufactures.

VII

THE energy and persistence shown in getting goods to market were nothing less than amazing. An excellent illustration was that classic of early Connecticut manufactures, the tinware industry. An immigrant from Ireland, by trade a tinner, had settled in Berlin about 1740, plied his trade, and taught it to others. By the close of the War of 1812, the industry had grown to considerable dimensions. At that time ten thousand boxes of tin plate

¹New York, American Geographical Society, 1933.

were said to have been made annually into finished wares in Berlin alone, and the manufacture had spread to other towns (Meriden, Bristol) where it was combined with other trades. The industry was notable in that it employed more people in the marketing process than in the manufacture itself. The wares were made in small shops, were then loaded into wagons, and put in charge of peddlers who were sent out in search of purchasers. A contract between the Yale brothers of Meriden and a certain Francis in 1816, engaged Francis to provide horse and wagon, "to hawk, peddle and vend" their wares wherever he was sent, for fixed wages of \$30 a month, plus \$10 extra a month if it was cleared above costs, and in addition a half share of all profits. The interest of the agent was thus engaged in marketing the wares, but he was by no means sure of success. One salesman wrote to the Yales in 1814 that there would be a loss of \$100 on the trip unless fortune changed: "R. Baldwin and I have traversed the country from Dan to Beersheba, besides going to Albany, and I have not sold either buttons or spoons to any amount. . . . Tin goes extremely well." At the end of his route, perhaps Richmond, Charleston, or Savannah, the salesman would find one or more workers established and ready to replenish his stock with wares which they had made from material brought with them, and the salesman would take to the road again. "Every inhabited part of the United States is visited by these men," wrote the elder Timothy Dwight, "I have seen them on the peninsula of Cape Cod, and in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, distant from each other more than six hundred miles. They make their way to Detroit, four hundred miles farther; to Canada, to Kentucky, and, if I mistake not, to New-Orleans and St. Louis."

The trade in tinware was never very important,

measured either by the employment it offered or the exports it provided. One English traveler mentioned a Berlin manufacturer who employed sixty hands, but of these most were probably on the road or working at distant stations. Making tinware was still a hand trade. Later it was mechanized in characteristic American fashion and the way prepared for the great corporations which now make tin containers. An English commission sent in 1854 to report on the application of machinery in America noted: "The class of tools commonly used by tinmen are almost obsolete in New England States. In a well-furnished tinman's shop there are about twelve different kinds of machines employed." The significance of the tinware trade in this early period lay in its methods of marketing rather than of manufacture. It did much to teach the people of Connecticut that they could look far afield for their market, and could reach purchasers of their industrial products despite all the difficulties which seemed to bar the way.

A more important industry was the manufacture of hats. The hatter's trade was widespread in the Northern colonies, and by 1800 every large town would have its hatter to supply the needs of the adjacent region. Even by 1800, however, there was a remarkable concentration of the trade in Danbury. That town, then of about three thousand inhabitants, was already producing over twenty thousand hats a year. Doubtless the industry got its start there by reason of adjacency to the city of New York, but it gained its growth largely by developing the Southern market. As early as 1816 two stores had been established in Charleston, South Carolina, to sell Danbury hats. The manufacturers were progressive in making as well as marketing. In 1835 they introduced the silk hat in place of the old beaver, and they began that process of

mechanizing the manufacture which enabled them in the following period to hold their own against all competitors.

Another manufacture in which Connecticut appeared to have no peculiar advantage, but which it developed to an important extent, was that of carriages. The factory established in New Haven by James Brewster in 1809 set a high standard, not only in the treatment of labor but also in the quality of work. The spread of turnpike roads stimulated a demand for better vehicles in the North, but in this case again the South was the mainstay of the trade. Before the Civil War the carriage trade of New Haven alone occupied over sixty establishments, including one said to be the largest in the world, with an output of one finished carriage an hour. The factory operations had been systematized and machinery had been introduced in many of the processes. The product was marketed not only in the United States, but also in Caribbean countries, in South America, and even in the islands of the Pacific.

The clock industry was domiciled in Connecticut as much by the efficiency of the salesman as by the ingenuity of the maker. Jerome used to see, about 1800, clockmakers bound for New York state on horseback, with clocks to sell, one in each saddlebag and one strapped behind. Jerome obtained his start in the clock business by going to New Jersey to make cases for tall clocks which were too bulky to be transported, and later made a great advance by the invention of an improved shelf clock which could be transported more readily. Connecticut clocks were distributed by peddlers all through the country, from Canada to South Carolina and Georgia. The Twiss brothers, manufacturing clocks in Meriden about 1830 and marketing them by peddlers, had one brother stationed in Montreal, another in Nash-

ville, Tennessee, and a third who divided his time between Meriden and Montreal. When Southern legislatures raised peddlers' licenses to a prohibitory level, Jerome shipped clocks in parts to Richmond and assembled them there.

A later illustration of this same method of going out after a market was offered by L. Candee and Company of New Haven, innovators in the manufacture of rubber goods. They found people suspicious of the new overshoes, and introduced them only by carrying them in baskets from one New England city to another, leaving samples to be sold by dealers on commission. Charles Parker of Meriden, known later as the inventor of an improved machinist's vise and the manufacturer of high-grade sporting guns, made his start by manufacturing coffee mills. He would make some stock and would then take to the road and sell it.

President Dwight thought that the peddling of the Berlin tinware demoralized its agents. "Were their manufactures sold like other merchandize, the profits would undoubtedly be lessened, but the corruption of a considerable number of human beings would be prevented." There was certainly a foundation for his criticism; the tin peddler contributed some of the most unpleasant features to that fiction of the Yankee current in other parts of the country, particularly in the South. Their employers, too, would be open to criticism by economic purists of a later time. An early example of an "open price association" designed to check competition was offered by an agreement signed by twelve Meriden tinware manufacturers in 1813, in which they bound themselves not to sell their products below prices set by a list. Even the authors of the *Gazetteer*, while they defended the people of Connecticut from the charges that they

were bigoted and litigious, had to concede: "If there are any prevailing or peculiar vices . . . an avaricious or mercenary spirit is the most conspicuous"; they "attach an undeserved importance to *property*."

Interesting as are these opinions, they lie outside the field of this paper, which is designed not to defend the modern business organization, or to apologize for its failings, but rather to trace its growth in connection with the material development of the state. Peddling was, after all, only a passing phase in the development of the market. The report of 1832, published by the federal government, estimated that three quarters of the manufactured product of Connecticut found its market in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Providence, and Baltimore. From those cities it was distributed to the interior or exported. When commercial connections of this kind were established the Connecticut manufacturer could divest himself of the responsibility for seeking out the ultimate consumer of his wares. Examples from the history of the Waterbury brass industry show that he need not, on that account, become merely passive in the marketing process. Gordon W. Burnham, at first a farm boy, became a "trunk peddler," made a reputation as a good salesman, was promoted to the control of a wagon and two horses to peddle Meriden tinware, became a partner of Aaron Benedict in the brass business in 1834, and the next year went to New York where he remained, devoting himself to the sales and finances of the firm. Of the two Scovill brothers, one stayed close to the works, organizing and developing the manufacture, while the other became a familiar figure in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, attending to the outlets for the product.

VIII

MAKING and marketing must go together for success in manufacturing. If the marketing process has been given priority in this sketch it is because the problem of developing a market under the conditions of the time was really more difficult, and required more courage and energy for its solution than any other that faced the manufacturer. When that was solved he was in a position to improve his processes, lower his prices, and so be able to extend the market still further. The interaction is well illustrated by the history of the clock industry.

In 1807, when Chauncey Jerome was fourteen years old, he wanted to take a place with Eli Terry of Plymouth to learn to make clocks, but his guardian dissuaded him. Terry was making two hundred clocks a year; others were making clocks; "the country would soon be filled with them, and the business would be good for nothing in two or three years." In that very year Terry contracted to deliver four thousand clocks in the next three years, and Jerome himself could boast before 1860 that he had made two hundred thousand in a year.

The clock of colonial days was a work of art, each part of it made separately by the craftsman; and it was so expensive that it marked its owner's affluence. The desire to own a timepiece, both for use and for display, was widespread. Connecticut men realized the opportunity and, early in the nineteenth century, developed machinery which would make clocks in quantity at a moderate cost, and a marketing organization which would sell them. The works of these clocks were made of wood, but were turned out in batches, with the teeth of the wheels cut by machinery, and each part true to a gauge, so that all were interchangeable. The price was reduced

from \$25 to \$10 or \$5 and the number sold grew correspondingly. There were obvious objections to the use of wood for the works. The wood had to be carefully selected and seasoned for a year, but still was much affected by moisture. Various makers experimented with brass and in 1838 Jerome invented a one-day clock with brass works, which henceforth became standard. Bristol, the town in which he was then working, reported an output for the year of ten thousand brass-wheel clocks, and ten thousand five hundred wooden-wheel clocks.

An English parliamentary commission which was sent, in 1854, to report on the use of machinery in the United States, was greatly impressed by the factory which Jerome had organized in New Haven. A labor force of two hundred and fifty turned out six hundred clocks a day, to be sold at prices ranging down to \$1. Machinery was used wherever possible, making great quantities of parts practically identical; Jerome said that three men could produce all the wheels for five hundred clocks in a day. Each clock passed through the hands of about sixty different workers. The commission noted that the superiority of the manufacture "is not owing to any local advantages; on the contrary labour and material are more expensive than in the countries to which the exportations are made; it is to be ascribed solely to the enterprise and energy of the manufacturer, and his judicious employment of machinery." About half the product was exported to England, and many clocks were then re-exported to other countries. Jerome had entered the English market in 1842, under conditions which realized the ideal of the manufacturer, the goods selling themselves. The English government, to prevent frauds on the customs by undervaluation, reserved the right to take any shipment by paying the invoiced price plus ten per

cent. They exercised this right on one of Jerome's shipments; then on another, as the prices at which the clocks were invoiced seemed incredibly low. When they found clocks still coming at the same low prices they became discouraged and let Jerome's agents take over the responsibility of making the sales.

The English visitors of 1854 found in the Davenport and Mallory works of New Haven the methods used in the clock industry practiced also in the manufacture of locks and padlocks. Special machinery turned out interchangeable parts, reducing costs and thereby extending sales. The works turned out daily two thousand padlocks selling at 5c. apiece, and offered a dozen locks, each with a different key, for 50c.

Before this system of manufacture with interchangeable parts had been applied to clocks and locks, it had been introduced in the manufacture of firearms by Eli Whitney and Simeon North. Whitney announced a new principle, "the great leading object of which is to substitute correct and effective operations of machinery for that skill of the artist which is acquired only by long practice and experience; a species of skill which is not possessed in this country to any considerable extent." What Whitney did in essence was to put the brains of a great inventor into a machine which would then, in the hands of an ordinary workman, turn out products of a high degree of refinement. The milling machine—in which the tool revolves instead of the object operated on, as in a lathe—was devised by him before 1818, and proved to be an indispensable instrument in the manufacture of small parts exact to gauge. The new methods, used first for Whitney muskets and North pistols, were applied later to Sharps rifles and Colt revolvers. Colt's armory at Hartford, built in 1854-1855, was the acme of

equipment of its time; automatic and semiautomatic machinery reduced handwork to the bare minimum. Colt estimated that in the manufacture of his revolver eighty per cent of the product was to be ascribed to the machines; he allowed ten per cent to the machine tenders and another ten per cent to the skilled workmen employed in assembling and finishing. Again the English visitors exclaimed at the novelty and the efficiency of the methods of manufacture. Nothing amazed them more, apparently, than the statement made to them at Springfield that "good shooting could be made at 200 yards with the United States Service musket," as they knew that "the English musket was next to useless at that distance."

Compared with other industries in Connecticut the manufacture of firearms was relatively unimportant. In 1840 it employed only 148 workers; even in 1860 it counted only 869, considerably less than the number working on brass or making hats, and not one tenth of the number employed in making cotton goods. It had a significance, however, far beyond the measure of these figures. It taught manufacturers in many different lines the possibilities of the machine. And in spreading the demand for machines it built up the industry making them, the machine-tool trade, parent of all modern manufacture.

The industries so far reviewed were not the most important. As indicated in the last paragraph they employed fewer hands and produced less value than other industries of the state. They have been selected for description because they showed originality. Bold spirits introduced new methods of making and marketing goods, overcame the natural disadvantages to which the Connecticut manufacturer was subject, and taught other people that they too might succeed if they would aban-

don traditional ways and strike out in new lines. The example set by them was followed by others like them in the succeeding period, and led to industrial success.

IX

OTHER industries, in which the manufacturers were content to be followers rather than leaders, held no such promise for the future. In 1845 the textile industry was the most important in Connecticut, measured either by the number of employees or by the value of the product. It would be unfair to deny the contributions which individual citizens of the state have made to the development of this industry, in the way of technical and economic improvements. In labor relations General David Humphreys of Humphreysville (now Seymour) was a fine figure who alone would give some distinction to Connecticut's earlier industrial history. It would be unfair, too, not to recognize the superior advantages of districts in the East: better climate for cotton spinning, better water power close to means of water transport, more abundant capital. At any rate, it seems certain that from the original germ of American cotton manufacture in Pawtucket the spirit of progress spread to Waltham and Lowell; and that Connecticut remained an imitator rather than an innovator. The report of 1832 showed textile factories scattered all over the state: ninety-eight producing various sorts of woollen goods, ninety-four producing cotton yarn or cloth. Of the factories working on wool, apart from two carpet works in Enfield (Thompsonville) and Simsbury (Tariffville), most employed only about a score of workers, some a dozen or less. Of the cotton mills for which particulars are given, over half had less than a thousand spindles apiece, tended by a score or so of operatives, mostly women.

The life history of one of these little cotton factories was furnished by the replies to a questionnaire given by its proprietor, J. Green of Goshen. It was started in 1812, in the boom period of the early cotton manufacture. "This establishment failed when peace took place, and has been in so many hands that no estimate can be made as to profits 'till 1831; generally those that run it failed in business; no profit made 'till 1831, when yarn took a rise." It employed four men at an average wage of 84c. a day, eight women at 2s. (34c.), eight children at 20c., and ran twelve hours a day. The manufacturer bartered part of the yarn for country produce at the factory, and sent the remainder to market, twenty-seven to forty miles, probably to Hartford and New Haven. Asked, "Is there any pursuit in which you could engage from which you could derive greater profit?" the answer was, "Yes, farming or labor by the day, or any kind of business that could be done without loss." This little factory and many others like it had been started to supply yarn to the country people to be woven into cloth at home, and obviously was doomed to extinction as factory-made cloth robbed it of its local market. Connecticut was not different from other New England states in harboring still those hopeless ventures. It was, however, different from some of its neighbors in its failure to develop large plants, equipped with the latest machinery, producing cloth as well as yarn, and having the advantages both in making and in marketing that attend the mass production of standardized wares. There were some enterprises of this calibre: the Thames Manufacturing Company of Norwich, and the Windham Manufacturing Company of Willimantic, each turning out over a million yards of cotton cloth a year. Good management enabled these and other somewhat smaller establishments not only to hold

their ground in competition with more favored neighbors, but even to grow in size and importance. Connecticut, however, could not contest the leadership in the industry which had been assumed so early by Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Next in importance to the textile industries, at the time of the report of 1845 on the manufactures of the state, was the boot and shoe trade.² It gave employment to 4,695 persons, more than were employed in any other industry except the textiles—more, in fact, than were employed in all the following industries taken together: brass articles, buttons, clocks, cutlery, firearms, locks, machinery, pins, screws, steam engines and boilers, tinware, and mechanics' tools. The manufacture of boots and shoes was so extensive because it was so simple, requiring few tools and little skill. Most of the work was done in the home of the worker. Both men and women engaged in it in about equal numbers. The industry was almost ubiquitous. The report of 1845 showed that it was carried on in more than a hundred towns. Mere villages, with a population below one thousand, such as Chaplin, Lisbon, and Union, reported outputs measured in tens of thousands of pairs. The state as a whole in 1845 produced over four hundred thousand pairs of boots, over twelve hundred thousand pairs of shoes, of a total value over \$1,800,000.

² Figures in the text are based on an independent tabulation of the statistics in the report of 1845. In that report the town of Woodstock, with a total population of 3,053, was said to have 9,825 engaged in the manufacture, and to have an output of shoes several times the total of all the rest of the state. On the other hand the value assigned to the product, \$68,045.80, seems reasonable; even in 1832 West Woodstock was making 30,000 pairs of shoes a year. Accepting the figure of value and applying rough averages based on figures for the rest of the state, there are assigned to the town 186 workers and an output of 48,919 pairs of shoes. For other industries the summary of the report has been accepted without checking its accuracy.

Some of the shoemakers supplied local needs, and presumably worked to the measure of the customer. A large part of the output, however, consisted of "brogans," selling for less than \$1 a pair, of crude material and construction, designed for the wear of slaves on the Southern plantations. There was no problem in marketing these goods. The demand of the South reached through New York and the interior cities to penetrate even to farms in the back country, where the family could employ its spare time on something that would bring it the cash or store credit which it needed so keenly and found so hard to acquire.

The manufacture of boots and shoes has disappeared from Connecticut, leaving scarcely a trace. In the form in which it was carried on it was purely a hand trade, supported by an indigent population ready to work for wages which even then were regarded as low. The future of the industry lay in Massachusetts, where a more efficient organization and supervision of the workers and the application of machinery left the old handicraft methods hopelessly behind. Even in 1845 the single towns of Lynn or Haverhill each turned out more shoes than the whole state of Connecticut.

Another industry, much less important but deserving mention here because its fate was similar, was the manufacture of combs. A number of towns reported this manufacture in 1845, and it gave employment to more workers than were engaged in making locks or firearms, almost as many as in those two industries together. The comb manufacturers of Meriden reported that they got their raw materials from India, Africa, and Turkey, and sold their product not only in the United States but also in Canada and South America. One of them could signalize the quality of the young women who worked for him by

the fact that within a few years eight of them had contracted marriages with clergymen. The comb manufacture was killed, as was that of shoes, by the superior efficiency of neighbors; Massachusetts combmakers combined labor and capital in larger units, and won the market away from the little local producers.

X

THIS survey of the adolescent period of Connecticut industries would be incomplete if it attended only to the more important manufactures which have already been noted. Behind them in the background was a bewildering variety of little enterprises, scattered all over the state, often in the smallest villages. Sharon and Watertown made mousetraps by the hundred thousand. Brooklyn manufactured ten thousand pairs of spectacles a year. Woodbridge made five hundred dozen iron candlesticks. North Haven and Wallingford made razor strops by the thousand dozen. Chester manufactured thousands of dozens of inkstands; Manchester made ink to fill them, as well as blacking and shaving soap. The gimlet bit invented by the Reverend Russell Jennings had already established the reputation of Connecticut for such tools, and gimlets, augers, and various sorts of bits were reported from a number of towns. Prospect already had thirty people employed in the manufacture of friction matches, and a Westville organization of a later period, the Diamond Match Company, has given its name to the great corporation of the present day. Ledyard and Redding made sieves by the thousand dozen. Benjamin Gilbert in 1818 devised a loom to weave haircloth for sieves, and started manufacture in the basement of his house, his wife tending the loom. About 1830 he had salesmen all over New England to market his product.

In 1837 he experimented in the weaving of wire cloth on a carpet loom; in 1865 the wire cloth was being woven on power looms; in 1906 the factory at Redding had over five hundred employees.

The town of Canton, to take a sample of the time, with a population under two thousand dispersed in several villages, had already in 1845 an axe factory employing one hundred and seventy-five hands, which was destined to make the name of Collinsville known throughout Central and South America; it had the usual shops for the supply of local needs in saddlery, harness, and trunks, wagons and sleighs, cabinet work and furniture; it had its tannery and petty shoe manufacture; and in addition had a metal button factory turning out twenty-five thousand gross, a little factory making lead pipe, and a powder mill.

Another illustration of the varied experiments in manufacture which marked the period was afforded by Harwinton, with a population not much over one thousand. The historian of that little town enumerated as manufactures produced there for export: fur hats, silk hats, palm-leaf hats, clocks, clock dials, flutes, fifes, tin-plate ware, bricks, cloth garments, woolen cloth, saddlery, cabinet furniture, veneering stuff, pleasure carriages, saddles, harnesses.

Most of these little enterprises failed. While the farmer was sure of at least a scanty living, the manufacturer, in trusting his fortunes to the market, must take his chances. Energy and ability alone were not enough to guarantee success; there were too many incalculable factors. Even such success as could be anticipated in this period must still be of a modest kind. The authors of the *Gazetteer* spoke with emphasis on this subject. "Whatever expectations may be indulged by the inexperienced, it is a fact, established by the united testimony of all men of

practical knowledge, that the great majority of those engaged in business of every kind, can realize but *small profits*. This is more emphatically true with respect to mechanical employments of every description." The great successes achieved in certain branches of manufacture in this period were exceptional, and affected relatively few people. Down even to the Civil War conditions remained much the same.

XI

BESIDES the variety of the manufactures attempted, another feature of the period which deserves emphasis was the fluidity of industry, the frequency of change, whether in the plant itself or in its ownership. The same water power would be used at one time for a fulling mill, later for an oil mill or a gristmill, and then to run a little textile factory. When the capital invested had become so considerable that the owner felt he could not afford to scrap it, he would sell the enterprise as a going concern to someone who would attempt to turn his failure into a success. Some of these little factories seem to have changed hands every few years. The man who had failed once had only got started. The man who succeeded was the one who, after failure, made a fresh start until he had found a business to which he was suited, and for which the times were ripe.

Even then Connecticut was the home of small wares, "Yankee notions." The equipment needed for their manufacture was so slight that the nature of the product could readily be shifted to suit the market. About the middle of the century William Hall of Meriden began the manufacture of suspenders in his house, continued it in a shop which he built, added carpetbags to his line of products as a demand sprang up for them, sold that part

of his business to another, formed a new partnership for the manufacture of tape measures and sewing birds, sold out to his partner, and invested his money in a hotel in which to spend the rest of his life. Frederick T. Stanley made a name for the suspenders which he manufactured by sending a pair to President Jackson on his election, receiving an autograph letter in acknowledgment. He left this business to build up a great factory of hardware and tools in New Britain; his successors in the original shop went into the manufacture of stocks and, when the demand for that form of neckwear declined about 1840, into making shirts. Oliver Winchester trained as a carpenter, then a master builder in different places, went into the trade of men's furnishings in Baltimore in 1834, and in 1847 took advantage of the newly invented sewing machine to build up a large shirt factory in New Haven. There English visitors were impressed to see one woman turning out the product of a dozen to twenty working with needle and thimble, and often finishing the estimated daily stint by two in the afternoon. Winchester, in 1855, transferred his ability and part of the capital which he had acquired to the manufacture of repeating firearms, and started the factory which was later to make his name known all over the world.

This period of Connecticut industry extending down to the decade 1840-50, was a period of experiment, of trial and error, of natural selection. All imaginable forms of manufacture, one may say with slight exaggeration, were tried out. Those which were adapted to the conditions survived. These did not, however, grow up by any irresistible vitality of their own. They were established by persistent effort. The manufacturer had to learn new methods of making goods, new methods of marketing them, if he would extend his business. He could not

afford to stand still or another manufacturer, through more vigorous efforts, would drive him from the market. The struggle for existence involved not only industries and methods but also men. Most industries required but a small amount of capital for their start. It was a period of democratic ideals and general education; in 1840, of Connecticut's total white population of 301,856, only 526 aged over twenty years were unable to read and write. A young man of courage and ability had an unmatched opportunity to rise from the ranks and take control. This was the period in which were founded enterprises destined later to grow into great corporations of commanding importance in their field of industry. Many of the successful manufacturing establishments were the creations of keen, thrifty men who began as actual workers at the trade concerned.

XII

THE turning point in the economic history of the state is found, as was said at the beginning of this paper, in the decade closing in 1850. Then the population of Connecticut began first to grow at a rate comparable with that of the rest of the country, instead of lagging far behind. The attraction of the West had likewise diminished as the parts readily accessible with existing means of transport had been occupied. The arrival of an increased number of immigrants at the end of the decade likewise played a part. Shifts in emigration and immigration, however, give no sufficient explanation of this abrupt change in the rate of growth; these shifts were part of the process and must themselves be explained. Nothing less than a transformation in the economic structure of the state, a sudden turn from agriculture to manufacture and trade, could account for this new vitality.

The statistics of the national censuses of 1840 and 1850 can be trusted only for bare figures of population. The statistics of occupations are imperfect. If they are taken at their face value, comparing groups represented in both enumerations, there was an increase in Connecticut in the number occupied in trade, manufacture, and mining of nearly eight thousand. The statistics of agriculture would show an absolute loss of over twenty-five thousand persons. Taking comparable groups the proportion of the whole engaged in agriculture would show a drop from sixty-one per cent to thirty-four per cent. Such a cataclysmic reversal of the previous conditions is incredible and does not accord with evidence derived from other sources. Without stopping here to consider possible corrections which might be made in the census figures one may dismiss them as extravagant, and still believe that they showed the real trend, however much they exaggerated it.

The agency which was destined in the course of time to turn the poverty of Connecticut into riches was the railroad. Was it already responsible for the shift in occupations marking the decade ending in 1850? The only railroad built early enough to have much effect in this decade was the line from New Haven to Hartford, opened to traffic in 1840 and extended to Springfield in 1844. The roads built next in time, from New Haven to Plainville and beyond, from New Haven to New York, and from Bridgeport up the Naugatuck Valley, were opened to traffic in 1848 and 1849; all-rail lines from the eastern seaboard to the Mississippi valley were established shortly after 1850.

Studying the population of Connecticut towns at the beginning and at the end of the decade, one finds, it is true, that those along the railroad from New Haven to

Hartford and Springfield were growing fast. Most of the increase, however, fell to the two capital cities, and other large towns in the state, on the shore of the Sound, on rivers, and even in the interior, away from a railroad, were growing at an equal or a higher rate. These large towns could subsist only by "traffic," by trade and manufacture. Taking the state as a whole it seems clear that its people, even before the railroad could have exercised any great influence, had at last solved the problem of making a living here without resort to the soil, and had turned to manufacturing as the hope of their future.

"In the past," says Edward A. Filene,³ "New England commercial leadership was due, more than to any other factor, to being the first in the field." When conditions of manufacture and trade were still most difficult, Connecticut had founded its industries and had established their markets. Trained in a period of adversity the manufacturers of the state were admirably prepared to take advantage of the period of prosperity which ensued. Then the spread of the railroad opened to them the richest market in the world, and enabled them to raise Connecticut to a leading position among the industrial states of the nation.

³In *New England's prospect: 1933* (New York, American Geographic Society, 1933).

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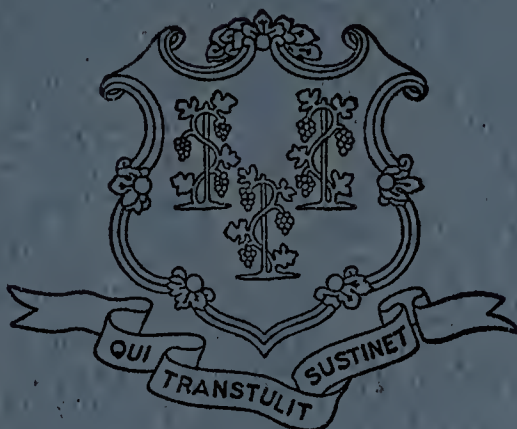
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Local histories and biographies contain some of the best illustrative material. Also, see Joseph W. Roe, *Connecticut inventors* (no. XXXIII in this series); P. R. Hoopes, *Early clockmaking in Connecticut* (no. XXIII); and Albert L. Olson, *Agricultural economy and the population in eighteenth-century Connecticut* (no. XL).

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in Connecticut*

SIDNEY WITHINGTON

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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*The First Twenty Years of Railroads
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SIDNEY WITHINGTON¹

I

THE development of Connecticut's railroads has now extended over a period of almost exactly a century. The first railroad charters were granted by the state legislature in 1832, and the first actual operation of a railroad on Connecticut soil took place in 1837.

The early railroad routes were largely determined by geographical factors. Parallel ridges, running generally north and south, separate the valleys of rivers which are navigable for some distance inland from Long Island Sound. These rivers, during perhaps two thirds of the year, afforded reasonably convenient transport, especially after the introduction of the steamboat in the early part of the nineteenth century.² Furthermore, Long

¹The author is indebted to various officers of the New Haven Railroad for items of historical interest from their records, and to Mr. James Hillhouse for making available the valuable material in his library.

²Fulton's famous trip up the Hudson river in his steamboat, *Clermont*, took place in 1807. The development of steamboat traffic was very rapid after that date.

Island Sound, protected as it is by Long Island, along the southern coast of Connecticut, provided favorable water transportation among the various tidewater communities, and between each of them and the metropolis of New York. In addition to its favorable water transportation, Connecticut had early developed, by means of private capital, an elaborate system of turnpikes, or toll roads, and toll bridges, chartered and built during the half-century before the initial appearance of the railroads.

For these reasons (and perhaps to some extent on account of the well-known conservatism of Connecticut's citizens), the introduction of railroads in Connecticut was somewhat later than in certain other parts of the country. When Connecticut's first genuine railroad route was opened for travel, about a decade after the initial railroad operation in the United States, there were already about two thousand miles of railroad in service along the Atlantic seaboard.

The earliest thoughts among railroad pioneers in Connecticut were concentrated not only upon opening connection into the interior from the Sound, but upon efforts to improve the through service between Boston and New York. A common route between these two cities had been by stagecoach from Boston to Providence, and thence by packet via Narragansett Bay, Point Judith, and Long Island Sound. Although the voyage through the sheltered waters of the Sound was easy and pleasant, the portion of the trip between Narragansett Bay and the Sound, being in open sea, was sometimes made difficult by rough weather, and it was natural to endeavor to eliminate that part of the water route. Massachusetts people were building a railroad between Boston and Providence which suggested an obvious connection for New York travel. The Boston and Worcester Railroad and the Western

Railroad in Massachusetts (now the Boston and Albany system) constituted an effective route, extending along the entire northerly boundary of Connecticut, available for connections with rail routes running south to Long Island Sound.

II

THE early charters granted to railroads in Connecticut were, in general, uniform in their provisions, though neither the officers of the corporations nor the members of the legislature were apparently clear in their minds as to just what the form of operation on the railroads would finally be. The turnpike and canal corporations were well known as transportation agencies, and there was evidently a thought that the railroads might be operated on a somewhat similar basis, the railroad company providing the route, and individuals or companies furnishing their own rolling stock and motive power and paying toll for the use of the tracks.

The directors of the early railroads were thus by the terms of their charters usually "authorized to erect toll houses, establish gates, appoint toll gatherers, and demand toll upon the road" and "the transportation of persons and property, the construction of wheels, the form of cars and carriages, the weight of load and all other matters" were to be under their jurisdiction. It was stipulated that the railroad might "be used by any person who shall comply with the rules and regulations." It was also provided, in most instances, that the legislature might "authorize any company to enter the railroad" with "another railroad at any point . . . paying for the right of using the same, such a rate as the legislature may from time to time prescribe." These provisions all followed the older turnpike charters.

The early railroad charters did not limit the railroads as to the form of motive power which might be used, for the companies were permitted "to transport, take and carry property and persons upon said railroad or way by the power and force of steam, of animals or of any mechanical or other power." The New York and New Haven Railroad, in 1844, was authorized to cross the Housatonic river at Stratford by means of a bridge, but was forbidden "to permit the passing of the said crossing or viaduct by carriages . . . other than those which are adapted to traveling on the railroad, nor by horses not attached to such railroad carriages." It is probable that horses were at first employed, to some extent at least, in yard switching in Connecticut. The Norwich and Worcester directors, however, proudly reported in 1840 that "The only power used is by locomotive steam engines, the great expense of horse power being entirely avoided."

The right of condemnation of land for railroad purposes was granted in the earliest railroad charters, and each railroad was, by the provision of its charter, placed under the jurisdiction of three commissioners appointed by the state (but whose salaries were paid by the railroad), whose duty it was to fix proper value upon land which might be condemned for right of way in cases where outright purchase prices could not be agreed upon between the railroad and the landowner.

The three commissioners also were charged with the duty of making return, to the secretary of state, of the complete accounting of all expenses of construction, and of the operating costs of the railroad over which they had jurisdiction. This provision undoubtedly prevented much of the serious evil which arose in other parts of the country, where misstatements regarding money received

from stock subscriptions and expended in construction were not uncommon. The appointment of commissioners followed the old turnpike and canal charters and indicates the control which was exercised by Connecticut over its public utilities from the earliest times.

The railroads were placed under the jurisdiction of city governments whenever their route lay within the city limits. No portion of the railroad might be constructed in any city "except with the consent of the Mayor, aldermen, common council and freemen." The use of "steam power" within city limits was also subject to approval by the city authorities.

Stock subscriptions were, for obvious reasons, arranged to be paid in instalments when the money was needed for construction as it progressed, or for purchase of equipment. This procedure, on occasion, involved embarrassment because, when the time arrived for collection of instalments, it sometimes happened that the subscriber was unable or unwilling to make payment upon his stock. The railroad directors were authorized, under these circumstances, to sell the stock of the delinquent at public auction, repaying to him his equity *pro rata*. When the delinquents were many and the demand for stock low, it was sometimes difficult to raise sufficient funds to permit proceeding with the construction. Under these circumstances the directors were forced to borrow enough money to continue. This was often difficult and interest was relatively high, a rate of seven per cent being not an abnormal figure. Appeals for assistance made to the Connecticut legislature were, during several decades at least, unsuccessful; though neighboring states were generous with their credit for the assistance of their railroads, with the idea that the railroads would benefit the community. Often, a Connecticut city or town, recognizing

the desirability of rail connection with the outside world, would issue bonds for the benefit of a railroad.

State aid was sometimes granted under charter provisions, in the form of abatement of taxes until such time as the dividends should reach six per cent, or in other cases, ten per cent. This was a somewhat academic provision, however, for dividends of any sort were the exception, in those early days. By unfortunate coincidence, many railroad companies in Connecticut were organized and committed to their construction programs at periods which synchronized with serious nationwide financial and industrial depressions. This aggravated the problems of the individual railroad managements, since they required capital in amounts which had been quite unheard of but a few years earlier.

The difficulty of raising money, as well as the amount of money required for launching this new and untried transportation industry, explains in some measure the financial disasters experienced by so large a proportion of Connecticut's early railroads. Bitter competition among themselves and from the water routes and drastic rate-cutting undoubtedly also contributed to the financial difficulties. Engineering data were practically nonexistent; storms, floods, and loss of important bridges frequently caused complete interruption to the service, and thus to the revenue, sometimes for weeks together. The cholera epidemic of the late 'forties in New York was a source of much concern in that it seriously upset traffic conditions for a time.

III

PRACTICALLY all the early railroads were built at first as single-track roads, partly because there was not sufficient traffic to justify two tracks, and partly because there was

need for extreme economy owing to the scarcity of capital. In many instances grading was provided initially for the second track which in some cases soon became necessary. The track rails of the earliest roads consisted of flat wrought-iron bars or straps spiked along the top of wooden stringers. These were replaced in the later 'forties by heavier rails of the now familiar T-section, with cross-tie construction—service sometimes being discontinued while the change was made.

The earliest bridges were usually wooden trestles, though masonry arches were used when money was available. Wooden trusses of the so-called patent Howe type, then recently developed, were common, and were successful and economical provided they were properly maintained, were not destroyed by fire, and were not overloaded. They often were of relatively long spans: the bridge across the Connecticut river at Windsor Locks, installed in 1844, had, besides the drawspan over the river and the spans over an adjacent canal and towpath, seven spans of one hundred and seventy-seven feet each, the total length being fifteen hundred feet. That bridge, incidentally, was destroyed in a gale on October 13, 1846, by being blown bodily off its piers into the river, and was replaced by a new bridge in forty-five days.

The operation of railroads without communication by means of telegraph or telephone presented a number of problems which the modern railroad operator does not meet. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, sent his famous first message by wire in 1844. After that, the development of telegraphic communication was slow though continuous, and in 1851 the first application to railroad operation was made. General adoption of the telegraph in the railroad field, however, did not arrive until the late 'fifties. Thus for about twenty years after

the railroads were introduced, they were without means of transmitting intelligence more quickly than by the trains themselves, and the problems thus imposed were not inconsiderable, especially on single-track routes.³

A distinctive type of locomotive was quickly standardized in this country, known as the "American" type, with a four-wheel guiding truck forward and two pairs of driving wheels, coupled by means of side rods and connected at first inside, and later outside, the driving wheels, to cylinders placed under the forward end of the horizontal boiler. The early locomotives had no cabs or other shelter for the engine crew, who were obliged to stand on an open platform, protected by only a very slight railing. It was argued that the stagecoach drivers were accustomed to withstand the rigors of the weather and that there was no reason why engine drivers should not do so. Eventually, however, cabs were found to be necessary and were first used on the railroads of New England in the later 'forties, and subsequently adopted throughout the country.

Wood was at first used exclusively as fuel in Connecticut, partly on account of the high cost of transporting coal from the coal fields and the plentiful wood supply available; and partly on account of the technical difficulties in burning coal. The burning of wood necessitated the use of elaborate screens or "spark catchers" in the smokestacks, which in turn resulted in the large balloon-like stacks characteristic of the early locomotives and immortalized in many old railroad prints. Even with the use of screens, blazing sparks "vomited from the stacks" often set fire to grass, forests, railroad bridges, and neighbor-

³The first train from New Haven for New York, December 25, 1848, was obliged to return from Williams' Bridge to New Haven, the Harlem connection not being completed, as had been supposed.

ing buildings, to say nothing of the trains themselves.

The growing scarcity of wood, the falling costs of coal, and the development of the technique of coal burning, resulted in the adoption of coal as fuel in Connecticut, experimentally in 1857 and practically universally in the late 'sixties. With the adoption of coal, the very large "wood houses," which were characteristic of the early engine terminal, disappeared, as did the class of labor, often known as "sawers," employed at engine terminals.

The "American" type of locomotive, as standardized in the late 'forties, was equipped with a bell and a "cow catcher," and in the middle 'fifties with a headlight. All these accessories were made necessary by the frequency of highway crossings at grade, the inadequacy of fences along the right of way, and the habit which cattle, horses, and people promptly formed of wandering along the right of way and even of sleeping on the tracks.

One of the pleasant characteristics of the early locomotive was the habit, which grew from the first, of giving each engine a name, and thus an extra bit of individuality. The names assigned were fanciful, such as Planet, Lion, or Comet; towns through which the railroad passed; officers or directors of the company; contemporary celebrities or historic characters. The first locomotive to draw a train from Providence into Connecticut at Stonington was named Roger Williams.

The first passenger cars were practically nothing but stagecoach bodies mounted upon four flanged wheels. The "brake man" occupied the seat on the outside formerly occupied by the "boots," and operated the brake by means of a long lever. There was room also "on top" for passengers. Very shortly the cars were enlarged by placing a number of stagecoach-type bodies together, back-to-back, built upon a single frame—an arrange-

ment which still persists in the compartment cars which are in use abroad. In this country, perhaps on account of the spirit of democracy, or perhaps on account of the necessity for adequate heat, the old stagecoach style was abandoned within a few years, and a design adopted which was essentially the arrangement in use today and which was thus described by a contemporary commentator.⁴

The form and structure of the carriages is a source of considerable economy in the working of the lines. The passenger carriages are not distinguished, as in Europe, by different modes of providing for the ease and comfort of the traveller. There are no first, second, and third classes. All are first class, or rather of the same class. The carriage consists of a long body like that of a London omnibus, but much wider, and twice or thrice the length. The doors of exit and entrance are at each end; a line of windows being placed at each side, similar exactly to those of an omnibus. Along the center of this species of caravan is an alley or passage just wide enough to allow one person to walk from end to end. On either side of this alley are seats for passengers extending crossways. Each seat accommodates two persons; four sitting in each row, two at each side of the alley. There are from fifteen to twenty of these seats, so that the carriage accommodates from sixty to eighty passengers. In cold weather, a small stove is placed near the center of the carriage, the smokepipe of which passes out through the roof; and a good lamp is placed at each end for illuminating during the night. The vehicle is perfectly lighted and warmed. The seats are cushioned; and their backs, consisting of a simple wadded board, about six inches broad, are so supported that the passenger may at his pleasure turn them either way, so as to turn his face or his back to the engine. For the convenience of ladies who travel unaccompanied by gentlemen, or who otherwise desire to be apart, a small room, appropriately furnished, is some times attached to the end of the carriage, admission to which is forbidden to gentlemen.

⁴Dionysius Lardner, *Railway economy: a treatise on the new art of transport* (New York, 1850), Chapter 16.

It may be noted as an exception that the Norwich and Worcester road provided, in its early operation, cars for "second class passengers."

Coupling the cars together was originally accomplished by means of a hook and a three-link chain. This was most unsatisfactory, as it resulted in dreadful jerks, both in starting and stopping. Improvements in draft gear were rapidly developed, however. The use of a single chain link fastened to the draft gear of each car by means of a fixed socket with a coupling pin dropped through it, was for many decades standard practice, though the procedure of coupling was a source of frequent accidents to the trainmen, who were obliged to stand between the cars, guide the link, and hold the coupling pin ready to drop it through the socket and link at the moment of impact. The coupling pin of those days was also a dangerous weapon of offense, all too handy in railroad yards.

The early equipment was not provided with air-operated brakes, which were not introduced until the 'seventies. It was, therefore, necessary to employ a brakeman on each car. To stop the train the engineer would "whistle for brakes," which would then be set throughout the train by the brakemen.

Parlor or drawing-room cars were a relatively late development but, as early as 1840, the Norwich and Worcester Railroad acquired cars of some luxury. These cars were partitioned off across the center with the entrance at one end only. One "apartment" was "appropriated to ladies and gentlemen accompanying them." "From this," the directors proudly reported, "you enter into the other apartment which belongs solely to the ladies, and is carpeted and in every respect beautifully finished with wide and convenient sofas, dressing table,

washstand and other arrangements for the comfort of passengers.”

The early railroads of Connecticut were remarkably free from serious accidents at a time when railroads in other parts of the country were constantly experiencing mournful disasters. Year after year directors' reports announced freedom from loss of life and limb of their passengers. A tragic exception occurred, however, in 1853, in one of the country's most famous wrecks, when a New Haven bound train ran into an open drawbridge at South Norwalk. The state legislature was in session at the time, and in the general excitement which followed the disaster, legislation was passed prescribing that all trains must be brought to a full stop on approaching any drawbridge and before crossing another railroad at grade.

On that occasion also the general railroad commission⁵ of Connecticut (predecessor of the present public utilities commission) was formed, to have jurisdiction over all railroads in the state, in order to insure that their affairs would be managed according to law, and “conformably with public safety and convenience.” Provision was made at that time also to develop the beginnings of a uniform system of railroad accounting and the compilation of statistics by the commission each year, as a basis for comparison of data among the various railroads.

Previous to the appointment of the commission, railroad legislation in Connecticut had been somewhat haphazard, and each railroad managed its affairs with little regard for its neighbors. The commission assumed general supervision over matters of safety and costs of operation, and over service, with particular reference to establishing convenient connections for passengers and

⁵Three commissioners were provided for, at a compensation of three dollars per day each.

freight between adjacent railroads—a subject which had been a source of considerable complaint from the public.

The compilation by the commission of operating statistics each year made available much information of value in comparing the efficiency of the various railroads in the state, in both construction and operation. Among the railroads the costs as published varied widely for a number of reasons, such as the type of construction adopted, length and slope of ruling gradients, curvature, the density of traffic handled, and the character of the territory traversed; in addition, of course, to the efficiency of the executive personnel.

In 1859, about twenty years after the first Connecticut railroad operation, approximately thirty million dollars had been invested in the railroads of the state. The gross cost, including rolling stock as well as fixed property, varied from \$16,000 to \$43,000 per mile of track operated.

IV

CONNECTICUT'S two earliest railroad charters were granted in 1832, to the New York and Stonington Railroad, projected to run between Providence and Stonington; and to the Boston, Norwich and New London Railroad, to run between Norwich and Worcester. These two roads were, paradoxically enough, highly competitive, though they nowhere touched the same town, and ran in quite diverse directions.

As one of the chief interests among the pioneer railroad men of Connecticut lay in the through route between New York and Boston, and in the elimination of the somewhat difficult open-ocean voyage around Point Judith, the New York and Stonington Railroad was projected to connect the already established Boston and Providence Railroad with steamboats operating on the

sheltered waters of Long Island Sound from the excellent harbor of Stonington. Likewise, the Boston, Norwich and New London Railroad was designed to connect the Boston and Worcester Railroad, as well as the thriving industrial communities along its route, with Long Island Sound, through the Thames river estuary, at Norwich.

It may be of interest to note in this connection that the Long Island Railroad was first planned in 1834 to provide a through route to Boston, via Brooklyn and Greenport, effecting connections between the eastern end of Long Island and the mainland by means of a ferry. It was considered at that time that the construction of a railroad along the south shore of Connecticut would be quite impracticable, on account of the number of rivers and tidal estuaries to be crossed, and that a ferry from Greenport would be a "convenient hotel with proper arrangements for rest and refreshments," which would prove "an agreeable and profitable relaxation for the passengers," occupying about two hours out of a total of about twelve hours for the entire distance between New York and Boston.

The Stonington road was the pioneer railroad to be operated on Connecticut soil, although (since only about six miles of its route lay within the boundaries of the state) it cannot be called strictly a Connecticut railroad. The route was surveyed and located by Major George Washington Whistler (father of the famous artist), who had been assigned by the United States Army for the work.

The road was opened between Providence and Stonington in November, 1837, connecting with the Boston and Providence Railroad through what is now Roger Williams Park, by means of a ferry across the harbor at Providence. This ferry was necessary because the Stonington road terminated at the west shore of the harbor,

and the Boston and Providence Railroad then terminated on the east shore. The first schedule provided for trains to leave Providence, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoons, and Stonington, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings, upon the arrival of the New York boat.

In 1848 the road was extended to the center of Providence, and a physical connection made with the new line of the Boston and Providence Railroad, opened in 1847, in conjunction with the Providence and Worcester Railroad, which had just completed its construction into Providence. It is now, like practically all the railroads operating in Connecticut, a component part of the system of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and comprises a portion of the main line between New York and Boston.

The first railroad to operate entirely within the boundaries of the state was the Hartford and New Haven Railroad. This road was not incorporated until 1837, but was opened a few months before the Norwich and Worcester Railroad, though some two years after the first operation of the Stonington road.

Professor Alexander C. Twining (Yale, 1820), one of the leading contemporary engineers of the country, was retained in the autumn of 1835, in order to insure that advocates of all the various possible locations would be "patiently and publicly heard," because each of the several communities which lay along the alternative routes was most anxious for the road to pass through its vicinity. Locations under consideration included the whole territory from the Connecticut river on the east, to the canal between New Haven and Farmington on the west. Competition was keen on the part of all the communities, except, apparently, the good people of Newington, who presented a petition to the directors of the rail-

road, representing that they were "a peaceable orderly people," and begging that their quiet might not be interrupted by "steam cars and an influx of strangers." Professor Twining, after a great deal of study, recommended a route through Meriden and Berlin, which is still the route of the main line of railroad between New Haven and Hartford.

The tidewater terminal at New Haven was at the Tomlinson Bridge, then a toll bridge between New Haven and Fair Haven. The railroad acquired control of the bridge and constructed a steamboat dock adjacent to it, to which a channel was dredged. An arrangement had been made with the New Haven Steamboat Company providing for train-steamboat connection at New Haven for New York, but the company operating the Connecticut river steamboats between Hartford and New York, which saw in the railroad service disastrous competition, threatened to stop its boat at New Haven to pick up passengers. The New Haven Steamboat Company officers, fearful of the result, hastily sold their company to the Connecticut River Company which promptly assigned an "old ferry boat, utterly unfit for any line" to fulfil the contract obligations with the railroad. Consequently, the new railroad was obliged to organize its own steamboat line to New York.

Operation of the railroad was opened to Meriden in December, 1838, and on December 14, 1839, it was so far completed that a train was "conducted from New Haven to the engine house at Hartford." The Hartford station was established near the site of what is now the Jeremy Hoadley Memorial Bridge in Bushnell Park. The station building itself faced what is now Wells Street, and the terminal tracks were on a bridge over the river. This first Hartford passenger station was used until 1850, when a



NEW HAVEN UNION STATION, 1849

Over the railroad tracks at Chapel Street

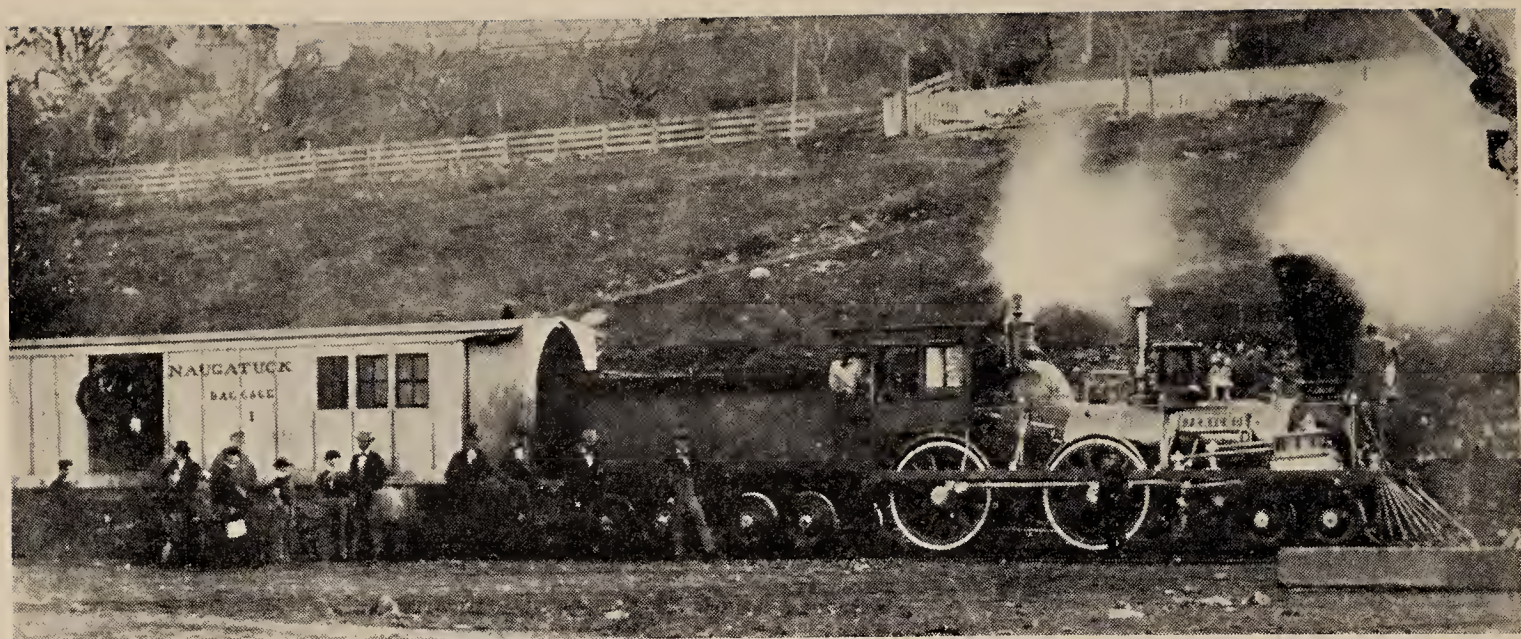
(From an original wash drawing of Henry Austin, Architect: Yale Library)



HARTFORD UNION STATION, 1850

Corner of Spruce and Asylum Streets

(From the City Directory of Hartford, 1850)



LOCOMOTIVE "JERICHO"

On the Naugatuck Railroad, with the first vestibule train operated in this country, about 1857

(Photograph from C. B. Burr)



LOCOMOTIVE "ONTALAUNEE"

On the New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad, about 1850

(From a photograph of a daguerreotype in the New London Historical Society, by C. B. Burr)

new station was built, jointly with the Hartford, Providence and Fishkill Railroad, near the corner of Spruce and Asylum Streets, not far from the site of the present railroad station. The new joint station was described as being very elaborate, of "Chatham or Portland Stone in the Italian style," extending three hundred feet on Spruce Street and ninety-four feet on Asylum Street. The tracks ran through the building at ground level, crossing Asylum Street at grade.

The question of extending the railroad north of Hartford to Springfield to connect with the Western Railroad for Boston and for Albany and the West was in the minds of the directors from the first. In 1842, as soon as the operation between New Haven and Hartford was well established, necessary charters having been obtained some years before under the names of the Hartford and Springfield Railroad Company in Connecticut and the Hartford and Springfield Railroad Corporation in Massachusetts, the companies were united to secure the desired object. The line through to Springfield was opened December 9, 1844, bringing the New Haven route into direct competition with the Norwich and the Stonington lines for the New York-Boston through travel.

In 1847 a short branch line was built from the railroad at Hartford to the Connecticut river at that point and in 1850 the people of Middletown, long anxious for a rail connection, constructed another branch from the railroad at Berlin to their city.

The Boston, Norwich and New London Railroad was, as has been said, chartered in Connecticut in 1832. In 1836 it was consolidated with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad of Massachusetts under the name of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad. Grants of \$400,000 from Massachusetts and of \$200,000 from the town of Norwich

permitted the company to proceed with construction. As has been observed, this road, like the Stonington road, was planned largely to handle through traffic as a link in the journey between New York and Boston, connecting the Boston and Worcester Railroad with Long Island Sound. A terminal, with track connection, was built at the corner of Foster and Norwich Streets in Worcester, jointly with the other railroads terminating in that city. After numerous delays and difficulties, the road was opened in March, 1840, between the joint terminal at Worcester, and Market Street, Norwich, where transfer was made directly between cars and steamboat at the wharf.

An extension from Norwich south to Allyn's Point on the east bank of the Thames river was completed in 1843 to eliminate part of the steamboat river route—an advantage, especially in winter. New York traffic was for a time handled from Allyn's Point across the Sound to the Long Island Railroad at Greenport, Long Island, by means of a ferry. Congress had "granted a liberal appropriation" for deepening the channel of the river, and a "light boat" was anchored at the mouth of New London harbor to enable steamboats to enter without difficulty, "even in foggy weather."

In 1846 there were five important through routes available for transport of passengers and freight between New York and Boston—all combinations of rail and steamboat lines. That these provided "warm competition" was somewhat gleefully pointed out in the current *Railroad journal*. The first route lay from Boston through Providence and Stonington by rail and connected at Stonington with the steamers *Oregon* and *Knickerbocker*. The second route from New York was over the Long Island Railroad to Greenport, thence by the ferry steamboat *New Haven* to Allyn's Point and thence by rail through Worces-

ter to Boston. The third route was by rail on the New Haven to Springfield line, connecting with steamboats on Long Island Sound. The other two routes were by steamboat, one to Providence and one to Fall River, at each of which there was rail connection to Boston. The steamers on the Providence line were "all first class vessels with patent life boats and in addition to the extensive cabin accommodations, having pleasant private state-rooms" where "the passengers could have a comfortable night's rest without the annoyance of a ferry, or being disturbed at midnight to change for boats or cars, so much complained of especially by ladies and families." The new Fall River steamboats were of fourteen hundred tons displacement, the largest on Long Island Sound. The Fall River Line steamers have since that early date maintained unquestioned supremacy on the Sound.

V

CONNECTICUT'S next railroad chronologically was the Housatonic Railroad, another north-south line designed, like the Norwich and the New Haven routes, to connect the Western Railroad of Massachusetts with Long Island Sound. In this instance, so far as through traffic was concerned, one of the important objectives was to provide an all-year-round route between New York and Albany in conjunction with Long Island Sound steamboats to Bridgeport.

The Housatonic Railroad was chartered in 1836. The original charter, apparently through an error in typography, was designated in the printed reports as "Ousatonic" although on the engrossed bill on file with the secretary of state, the name is correctly recorded as "Housatonic." The company was authorized to build a railroad from the north line of Connecticut near Canaan,

down the valley of the Housatonic river to Brookfield, thence to Long Island Sound at Bridgeport. An alternative route, which was not adopted, was provided, to run through Danbury and Ridgefield to the western boundary of the state, to connect with a possible railroad to New York City through Westchester county.

The city of Bridgeport, in its corporate capacity, granted \$150,000 to the new company, possibly to insure that the railroad's southern terminal should be at Bridgeport. The directors, like their contemporaries elsewhere in Connecticut, strenuously urged state aid, and were much discouraged that the legislature refused assistance "in any form." The road was opened between Bridgeport and New Milford in 1840 and was completed to West Stockbridge in 1842, in coördination with the Berkshire Railroad of Massachusetts. Connection was effected through West Stockbridge with the Western Railroad by means of the West Stockbridge Railroad, and so the through rail route between Bridgeport and Albany was completed. Another connection was opened, on December 28, 1849, to Pittsfield over the route of the Stockbridge and Pittsfield Railroad from Van Deusenville, Massachusetts. The Housatonic was Bridgeport's only railroad until 1849 when the New York and New Haven Railroad was constructed through Bridgeport, and connections were made with it, and with the Naugatuck road.

The old Farmington Canal, which had held such high hopes in the 'twenties was quite moribund in the early 'forties. After a considerable amount of discussion, it was decided to convert the route into a railroad and in 1846 the charter was amended accordingly. Joseph E. Sheffield (founder of Sheffield Scientific School) was president, and Henry Farnam, who had been deeply interested in the old canal, was engineer and superintendent. Alexander C.

Twining was engaged to make the surveys, as he had done for the other roads in the neighborhood.

Much grading had been accomplished in constructing the canal, and the obvious location for the railroad was on the towpath, with modifications at the locks. The railroad as finally built, however, diverged from the canal route at a number of places. The directors optimistically reported that because the railroad was "destined to become the main stem of a great extent of future roads . . . we have run it nearly straight and level instead of following the canal."

The road was opened between New Haven and Plainville in January, 1848. The terminal at New Haven was temporarily located in the block between Temple Street and Hillhouse Avenue, south of the track. After completion between New Haven and Plainville, the road was leased, for twenty years, for operation by the New York and New Haven Railroad, which was at that time completing its construction into New Haven.

The directors subsequently determined to extend the road north from Plainville to connect with the Western Railroad. All kinds of difficulties, such as court injunction and refusal of charter, were experienced, which, it later developed, were largely inspired by the Hartford and New Haven Company in an endeavor to prevent the extension of the Canal Railroad into Massachusetts to form a competitive connection with the Western Railroad. While, therefore, the road extensions were accomplished from Plainville north to Farmington and to Collinsville, Simsbury, Granby, and Tariffville, in 1850, the connection with the Western Railroad at Westfield, Massachusetts, was not completed until 1855. The route to Northampton was completed in the following year.

The first road to be projected along the north shore of

Long Island Sound, and the first east-west line constructed in Connecticut, was the New York and New Haven Railroad, which was chartered in Connecticut in 1844. Among the incorporators were Joseph E. Sheffield, president of the Canal Railroad, and Samuel J. Hitchcock, president of the Hartford road. The first president was Robert Schuyler who served for a number of years, and whose financial activities later caused the railroad acute embarrassment.

The company was authorized to operate over the tracks of the New York and Harlem Railroad from a connection "at or near Williams' Bridge" into New York City, and to construct a "single, double or treble railroad or way" from Williams' Bridge to New Haven. The directors employed Alexander C. Twining to make a survey of the various routes available between New York and New Haven. After painstaking and careful survey, Professor Twining submitted a comprehensive report in February, 1845. The road was finally built closely in accordance with his recommended location, except at short sections in Bridgeport and New Rochelle, and is operated very nearly on that general route today.

In locating the line through New Haven, advantage was taken of the right of way of the old Farmington Canal which passed under what is now Grand Avenue, and ran parallel with State Street to the canal basin which was on the site of the present railroad freight houses and shops near Water Street. The stretch of canal between Grand Avenue and Water Street was leased from the canal company in perpetuity, and was used jointly for the New York and New Haven and Canal Railroad tracks, three tracks being built in that section. East of Grand Avenue, a cut for two tracks was made through the city to the junction with the Hartford and New

Haven at its crossing over Mill river. The New York and New Haven Railroad was opened in December, 1848.

The Hartford and New Haven trains were thus largely diverted from their original terminal at the Tomlinson Bridge steamboat dock, and were run over the tracks provided by the New York and New Haven Company to the joint passenger station which was constructed above the tracks at Chapel Street. The joint terminal was used also by the Canal Railroad and, later, by the New Haven and New London Railroad, by the Air Line to Middletown, and by the New Haven and Derby Railroad completed in 1871.

This joint or Union Station at Chapel Street was reported by the directors as the "only departure from a strict rule of economy" which had been observed in the construction of the railroad. It was designed, they reported, "by a popular architect⁶ of the city," and was "of ornament and elegance" though "neither more spacious or elegant than was due to the central portion of the city which was occupied, the vast and necessary business to be accommodated and the style of buildings in the immediate vicinity." The directors acknowledged indebtedness for the gift of the large clock, "to the liberality of the owner⁷ of one of the buildings, who has done much for the architectural ornament of the city." The new station was described by a contemporary observer:

This beautiful edifice is situated in Union Street and occupies the entire square from Chapel to Cherry Street. . . . The

⁶Henry Austin (1804-1891), designer of many well-known New Haven buildings, including the City Hall, the former Yale University Library (now Dwight Chapel), and the gateway to the Grove Street Cemetery. He also designed the passenger stations of the Canal Railroad at Plainville and Collinsville.

⁷James Brewster (1788-1866), a leading citizen of New Haven; prominent as a manufacturer of carriages; and the first president and a director of the Hartford and New Haven Railroad.

style of architecture is Italian. On either side of the main hall or platform, are extensive Parlors, that on the left being for the accommodation of ladies, and is furnished with a profusion of rich and costly sofas, divans, chairs, ottomans, mirrors, etc. with convenient dressing rooms attached. Obliging servants are always in attendance. . . . The Parlor on the right is for gentlemen's use, and is to be furnished as a Reading Room. . . .

The Rail Road track . . . is reached by easy flights of stairs. . . . In the north tower . . . is a clock with glazed face 8 feet in diameter. . . . This clock is to be illuminated with gas. . . . Twenty feet above the clock a large bell is suspended, the ringing of which indicates the arrival and departure of the trains of cars. A watchman being stationed in this building at night, this bell is usually the first to sound its note of alarm in cases of fire. From the belfry of this lofty tower . . . the spectator looks down on a forest of luxuriant elms, maples, etc., intermingled with which are the stately mansions, beautiful cottages, towering spires and tasteful gardens of our sylvan city. . . . Long may it stand as an enduring monument of the taste, the liberality and enterprise of its projectors.⁸

This was the depot which it was found necessary to "remodel" twice during the next two years, and which, about fifteen years later, was the subject of comment by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who, bringing his son (the late Justice Holmes) back from the South, referred to "New Haven . . . cursed with a detestable depot, whose niggardly arrangements crowd the track so murderously close to the wall."⁹ In 1866, after a vast deal of bitter public criticism, the railroad was ordered by the state legislature "to make such alterations in the lighting and accommodation . . . as will meet the approval of the Mayor and General Assembly." The facilities were entirely abandoned a few years later.

The contracts referred to above,¹⁰ with the Hartford

⁸ *New Haven City directory*, 1849-1850.

⁹ *My hunt after 'The Captain.'*

¹⁰ See above, pp. 22-23.

and New Haven Railroad, were exceedingly complex. The Hartford road viewed with alarm the projected extension of the Canal Railroad paralleling it, and the New York and New Haven agreed to see that the Canal Railroad was not extended. The Hartford road agreed, on its part, to favor the New York road by making transfer difficult from rail to steamboats for travel between New Haven and New York. Some discussion resulted in the state legislature, based upon various phases of the agreements, and a considerable amount of mutual recrimination developed amongst those directly and indirectly involved. In 1872 the two railroads consolidated by mutual exchange of stock, forming the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad—the nucleus of the system which now serves southern New England.

VI

THE New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad constituted another north-south route planned to connect Long Island Sound and the Western Railroad of Massachusetts. The charter was granted in 1847 in Connecticut to the New London, Willimantic and Springfield Railroad, and in 1848 in Massachusetts to the New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad. The companies were consolidated in 1848 under the latter name.

The road was opened between New London and Willimantic in November, 1849; to Stafford Springs in March, 1850; and on September 20, 1850, to Palmer, where connection was made with the Western Railroad. This railroad provided another link for New York-Boston travel, in combination with Sound steamboats, connecting at New London. A physical connection was established in 1855 at Norwich with the Norwich and Worcester Road, which for a short time used the west shore route as an

alternative to the Allyn's Point connection. This railroad is now known as the New London Northern and is operated by the Canadian National System as part of the Central Vermont Railroad.

Another north-south railroad was chartered in 1845, to run from Devon (formerly Naugatuck Junction) in the town of Milford to Winsted. This was known as the Naugatuck Railroad. It was not planned as part of any through route, but was intended to provide a rail outlet especially for the thriving manufacturing towns of Winsted and Waterbury.

Although the charter was granted in 1845, the company was not definitely organized until 1848, when the stockholders met and elected the directors. The road was opened between what is now Devon and Waterbury, on June 11, 1849, and to Winsted on September 24 of the same year. The directors resented the fact that "teams and stage coaches did not immediately suspend their operation" when the road was opened, as had been expected.

An agreement was made by which the Naugatuck Railroad operated its trains over the tracks of the New York and New Haven Railroad from Devon across the Housatonic river into Bridgeport where the Naugatuck terminus was established. As the Housatonic Railroad already terminated in Bridgeport, an arrangement was made with that road for the "common use of grounds and wharves and for the repairs of engines and cars," which lasted for several years, after which each road maintained its own facilities at that point.

One of the earliest of Connecticut's railroad charters had been granted in 1833 for a small road planned to run between Hartford and Manchester, known as the Manchester Railroad. The company, however, did not reach the organization stage. The Hartford and Providence

Railroad revived the old charter in 1847, and consolidated with the New York and Hartford Railroad (chartered in 1845) and the Providence and Plainfield Railroad (chartered in 1846). The union, known as the Hartford, Providence and Fishkill Railroad, was projected to secure a through overland route between Providence and the Hudson river.

Construction work was completed between Hartford and Willimantic on December 1, 1849, and in 1854 extended through to Providence. The route was opened from Hartford to Bristol in 1850, and extended to Waterbury in 1855, so that in 1855 there was through service between Providence and Waterbury. The line was extended to Brewster, New York, in 1881, and in 1882, to the Hudson river at Fishkill Landing (now Beacon); whence trains were ferried across the river to Newburg.

The route through the city of Hartford utilized the tunnel and passenger station jointly with the New Haven-Springfield route as already indicated, and the rights of way of the two roads were adjacent between Hartford and Newington where the Fishkill Road diverged to the westward for Waterbury. This east-west route, involving as it did crossing numerous valleys and ridges, necessitated expensive construction and resulted in heavy grades with consequent costly operation. Much of the territory served was rural, and remained so in spite of rail connection. Furthermore, many of the communities were also served by other railroads—a condition which produced ruinous competition. After several reorganizations, which included comprehensive consolidations, the road became known in 1873 as the New York and New England Railroad and in 1895 as the New England Railroad.

The New Haven and New London Railroad was in-

incorporated in 1848 to operate, as its name implies, a line between New Haven and New London. The route, surveyed by Professor Twining, started at New Haven from the junction between the New York and New Haven and the Hartford and New Haven Railroads at Mill river; diverged eastward from the present main line at what is now an industrial sidetrack; passed through Fair Haven; crossed the harbor on an elaborate wood-truss bridge not far north of the present highway bridge at Grand Avenue; and rejoined the present main line at East Haven.

This railroad, opened for traffic on July 22, 1852, made a physical junction with the New London, Willimantic and Palmer road at New London, completing, via Norwich and Worcester, another route between Boston and New York which was all rail with the exception of a ferry crossing at the Connecticut river.

The New London and Stonington Railroad was incorporated in 1852, to operate between Groton and Stonington with a ferry connection across the Thames river at New London. This road was merged in 1856, before completion, with the New Haven and New London Railroad and was opened for traffic on December 30, 1858. The ferry gaps were eliminated by the Connecticut river bridge, built in 1870, and by that over the Thames river, erected in 1889. Thus was completed the Shore Line, which had been considered an impossibility half a century before.

The necessary ferry operations at Saybrook and New London were apparently not as troublesome as might have been expected. The railroad commission of Connecticut in its report of 1853, referring to the Saybrook situation, indicated that the time lost at the ferry was:

. . . about five minutes more than would be lost in supplying the engine with wood and water at this place and passing over

the river on a bridge. As the boat is of ample dimensions and arranged with many conveniences, the ferry is found in practice rather of an accommodation than otherwise to the passengers of the road.

Dickens, in describing a railroad journey which he made between New York and Boston, thus referred to these ferry operations:

Two rivers have to be crossed and each time the whole train is banged aboard a big steamer. The steamer rises and falls with the river which the railroad don't do, and the train is banged up hill or banged down hill. In coming off the steamer at one of these crossings yesterday, we were banged up such a height that the rope broke and the carriage rushed back with a run down hill into the boat again. I whisked out in a moment, and two or three others after me, but nobody else seemed to care about it.¹¹

Another of Connecticut's early railroad charters, again for a north-south railroad, was granted in 1835 to the Fairfield County Railroad. This road was planned to run between Norwalk and Danbury. Its construction was, however, delayed and in 1850 its name was changed to the Danbury and Norwalk Railroad. Construction was completed in 1852 under the stimulus of connection with the New York and New Haven Railroad, which had recently completed its route through South Norwalk. It was over the Danbury-Norwalk line that, in 1891, was operated, for a short time, a route known as "The Eastern States Line," comprising through service between Boston and New York, with a car-ferry crossing the Sound from Wilson's Point, South Norwalk, to the Long Island Railroad at Oyster Bay.

The Boston and New York Central Railroad was chartered in 1852 in Massachusetts. It constructed a line

¹¹ John Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*.

by way of Blackstone, Massachusetts, to Mechanicsville (six miles only being in Connecticut) which connected with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad. This completed a route which was opened in 1854 for through travel between Boston and New York via the Norwich and Worcester Railroad and its associated steamboats. Operation of this route became much involved and it was soon discontinued. This short piece of track became subsequently part of the New York and New England Railroad route¹² (a consolidation of a number of companies, including the Hartford, Providence and Fishkill Railroad), across New England from Boston via Blackstone, Putnam, Willimantic, Hartford, and Danbury, to the Hudson river at Beacon.

The New York and Boston Railroad had been chartered in 1846 but had failed before completion. The project was subsequently revived under the name of the Boston and New York Air Line, and the road was completed between New Haven and Middletown in 1870 and to Willimantic in 1873, establishing a new route between Boston and New York. It was over that route that the all-white Ghost Train was operated which provided the inspiration for Kipling's story, "007."

Connecticut had no direct rail connection with the West (there being no bridge across the Hudson river south of Albany) until the construction, in 1888, of the Poughkeepsie bridge, one of the most notable bridges of its time. This bridge provided convenient all-rail routes from the West via both Canaan and Danbury to all southern New England. Another direct rail route to the South and West was established in 1916 by the construction of the Hell Gate bridge in New York City, connecting the New Haven and the Pennsylvania Railroad systems.

¹²See above, p. 27.

VII

THE first era of Connecticut railroad history extended over a period of about two decades terminating with the completion of the rail route along the south shore of the state. After 1859 there was practically no new construction until the early 'seventies when for two decades Connecticut, with the rest of the nation, was swept into the whirlpool of railroad building.

The construction of new rail routes ended in the late 'eighties, when an era of consolidation was inaugurated. A large number of independently owned railroads, many bitterly competing with each other and many chronically moribund, were merged during the years following into a single coördinated unit. After that, railroad growth became primarily intensive, and attention was given to added tracks, lower grades, easier curves, heavier rails, stronger bridges, more effective locomotives and cars, more highly developed signal systems, more efficient terminal facilities, and other improvements.

At that time appeared the meteoric electric interurban railway systems, which within a space of thirty years grew to a position of primary importance and then practically disappeared with the advent of the high-speed automobile and the inauguration of the vast program of national and state highway construction which is now under way.

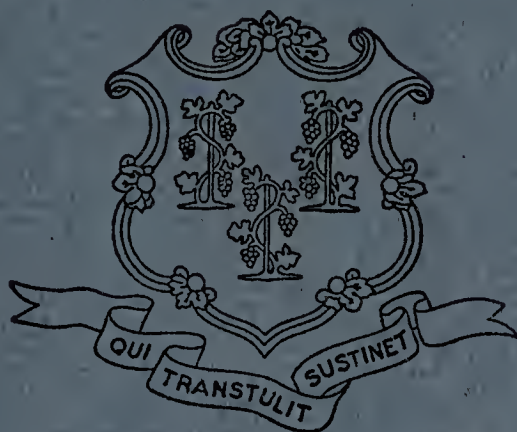
An attempt has been made to present, without pointing any moral or drawing any conclusions, a very general and informal picture of Connecticut's railroads, principally during the first twenty years of the state's railroad history. The railroads of that period experienced their triumphs as well as their difficulties. They had already, during those first two decades, become a thoroughly

integral part of the life of the state which they served. That they were providing inspiration in that era of somewhat effulgent literary style, is indicated by the efforts of the anonymous author of "The Railroad enterprise, its progress, management and utility," which appeared in the *New Englander* for August, 1851:

We must not forget that the railroad is but one step in the ascending staircase, on which the race are mounting, guided and cheered by heavenly voices. The resources of infinite grace and wisdom are not exhausted, and we only mark the beginning of wonders which shall co-operate with the divine purpose in the redemption of man, and the restoration of a ruined world.

The procession of heavy cars, winding among the hills after the panting engine, a seeming realization of the dragon, fabled in the middle ages, whose breath was flame, and whose course was as a rushing tempest, always interests and quickens by its illustration of power and skill. The eye never wearies of watching a railroad train as it whirls on its appointed track, seemingly instinct with life, running in merry wantonness its matchless race unwearied, and screaming madly in the pride of its power. But when we remember that it is the product of human intelligence, and a token of divine love, and reflect on its promise for the future, the spectacle is invested with moral grandeur, giving us courage for the conflict to-day and prophesying of a good time to come, when creation shall rejoice in the liberty of the sons of God. "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT



COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

XLVI

*Forty Years of Highway Development
in Connecticut, 1895-1935*

THE STAFF OF THE
STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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*Forty Years of Highway Development
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I

IN the colonial period, the general court, the county courts, and the towns shared the responsibility for laying out and maintaining highways in Connecticut. The actual task of maintenance largely devolved upon the towns, but the work was poorly done and its conduct was the subject of constant irritation and complaint. Miss Isabel S. Mitchell has told well the history of *Roads and road-making in colonial Connecticut*.¹

Directly after the establishment of the federal government under the constitution, there swept over the country a demand for more and better highways. The undertaking seemed too great, too difficult, and too expensive to be handled entirely as a governmental function. Consequently, the custom grew up in the several states, of which Connecticut was one of the earliest, of chartering private corporations to maintain specified roads and of authorizing them to recoup themselves for the costs by

¹No. XIV in this series.

collecting tolls from the users of the highways. These toll roads, known as turnpike roads, had an extensive development. In Connecticut, between 1795 and 1853, one hundred and twenty-one such franchises were granted. These companies provided improved roads for the steadily increasing traffic on the main routes of travel and trade.

The growth of the railroads, which began in Connecticut in 1837, and popular dissatisfaction with the toll system led to the decline of the turnpike corporations after about 1850. Railroads provided only a partial solution of the transportation problem, so that the state and the towns were confronted by an ever-growing demand for more and better roads. As the turnpike corporations surrendered their franchises and abandoned the care of the roads in their charge, the necessity for governmental action became more insistent. With the growth of population and trade the use of highways increased. Methods of improved road construction were also being devised to meet the requirements of heavier traffic, but they were rarely utilized outside the cities and larger villages. With the growth of traffic, there became more apparent how much greater was the use of inter-town highways between the centers of population than of the merely local roads. Though such highways required more and better upkeep than the minor roads, the town authorities often failed to make the requisite differentiation, and the state highway laws were inadequate to cope with the newer problems. Furthermore, the question of expense was making necessary a greater degree of state responsibility, for often an important highway might run through a small town which could not afford the cost of its upkeep and, indeed, had only a minor interest in it. Such were some of the reasons that led to the legislation

of 1895 which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Connecticut's highways.

II

It is significant that the beginning of Connecticut's real advance in road-making should have coincided not only with the closing of its last turnpike but also with the organization of the state highway department. The year 1895 beheld the ending of the old order with the passing of the Derby Turnpike, and the coming of the new with the act of the legislature creating a triple-headed commission which became effective on July 1 of that year. Three men, James H. MacDonald of New Haven, W. R. McDonald of Cromwell, and A. C. Sternberg of West Hartford, were entrusted with the care of Connecticut highways. Their work, for which they received eight dollars a day and expenses, consisted mostly in providing for the application of traprock to sections of roadway in an attempt to construct some type of hard-surface road. The drainage was also taken care of on those sections.

In 1897, the legislature abolished this triple-headed commission and appointed as state highway commissioner, at an annual salary of three thousand dollars, James H. MacDonald of New Haven, one of the triumvirate. MacDonald continued in this office until February 26, 1913, at which time he was succeeded by Charles J. Bennett of Hartford. Bennett served for ten years, and on July 1, 1923, was succeeded by the present commissioner, John A. Macdonald of Putnam, who is serving his fourth four-year term.

Under the act of 1897, the procedure was as follows: The towns selected the highways to be improved, advertised for bids, let the contracts, and the work of the department consisted chiefly in supervision.

In 1908, a Trunk Line system was laid out by Commissioner James H. MacDonald. According to this system, through routes were designated as Trunk Lines, and their construction and maintenance were provided for by state appropriations. On the other hand, those roads which served either to connect Trunk Line roads or provide communication between the various towns or communities were called State Aid roads.

A further change was brought about by the entry of the United States government into the schemes of road-building maintained by the various states. This has taken two forms, the designation by the federal government of certain main highways as of sufficient national importance to justify the government's aid in their construction or reconstruction; and the emergency relief work undertaken by the national administration in 1932 and following years in connection with its public works expenditures. This has enormously increased the duties and the work of the state aid agent in Connecticut. For years his office had been the connecting link between the towns and the state highway department in the work on State Aid roads.

Thus the conduct of road-building in Connecticut has grown through action of the towns, the county courts, and the state to coöperation by the national government, as the increase in population and the necessity for better means of communication and better facilities for trade, travel, and national defense made it more apparent that the proper solution of the highway problem depended upon concerted action by all the parties interested in each particular road.

III

THE first highways in Connecticut were poorly laid out and hastily and imperfectly constructed. The materials used in road-building were those most easily procured. In fact, the methods used in the construction and repair of the first highways were quite comparable to the untrained efforts of any single individual of today who, without experience in work of this kind, attempts to better an entrance into a camp site or an inaccessible farm. They consisted in removing such obstacles as could easily be dislodged, in dumping into wet or swampy land whatever soil could be obtained near at hand, together with loose rocks and other materials. The results were, of course, unsatisfactory and not at all conducive to extended road-building.

The decided impetus which accrued to road-making in the latter part of the nineteenth century was due, in no small measure, to the invention, by Eli Whitney Blake² of New Haven, of a stone-crusher which was capable of turning out surfacing material at a reasonable cost. Although Blake, a nephew of Eli Whitney, was a pioneer in the laying of macadam roads in Connecticut, such roads in their rougher form were originally due to the experiments of John Loudon McAdam (1756-1836), who was born at Ayr, Scotland. McAdam first tried the method of using crushed stone for the purpose of hardening the surface of roads, even as he was the first to bring into the construction of stone roads broken stone applied in courses. His system, perfected about 1820, is used today throughout the entire civilized world, although the method by which the system has been put into operation

²See Joseph W. Roe, *Connecticut inventors* (no. XXXIII in this series), pp. 22-23.

has seen many changes since McAdam's day. In his time there were neither stone-crushers wherewith to reduce the stone to the required dimensions nor screens to grade the broken stone. No appliance had been invented to save the dust; there were no steam rollers or other mechanical appliances, such as are used today, for the economical application of the stone. The rough, unfinished stone was left to the kind offices of the passing carts or wagons for whatever refinement or leveling they might afford.

The road which Blake laid in 1851 on Whalley Avenue between New Haven and Westville was, perforce, constructed after the rather primitive methods of McAdam. Taking into consideration the difficulties under which this type of road was then made, it is not hard to believe Blake's statement that in 1851 there were hardly a dozen miles of macadam roads in all New England. With Blake's invention of the stone-crusher in 1858, the theory of McAdam as to the prime utility of stone roads became an important practicality.

In order to stem the rapid deterioration of gravel and macadam roads, bituminous surfaces were developed to prevent the breaking up and blowing away of the small particles of bonding material, as a result of the suction of fast-moving motor traffic. The fact that many roads built by the department in its early years are still in use, without having been rebuilt, speaks well for the thought and care given to those earlier road projects.

The first purpose of the highway department was to provide highways which would give the country districts arteries of communication which might be used at all seasons of the year, not only for the movement of produce but also for the development of the state's natural resources. While these macadam and gravel-surfaced roads were adequate to meet the economic conditions of the

time and the territory they served, the gradual linking of isolated sections and the more general use of automobiles tended to create an ever-increasing demand for more and better highways.

One of the first horseless carriages operated in Connecticut was designed by E. P. Clapp of New Haven about 1896, so that the rise of automobile traffic paralleled and coincided with the growth of the highway department. The automobile designed by Clapp was made by Hoggson and Pettis of New Haven and tried out in the streets under the care of Frank D. Willys, employed by that firm. Willys said:

We went up on East Rock to prove the auto's climbing power in which it was all that could have been expected. Then we drove to Milford. All went well except that as we had no muffler we could be heard for miles away. Of course there were some horse drivers who could not get out of the way fast enough, and some unattended horses that had to be dealt with. I frequently had to get out and hold them until our wonderful car got out of the way. There is one thing I must not forget to state—we stopped for some gas on Elm Street just opposite the Yale Gym; and how much do you suppose we paid for it? Six cents a gallon and there was no tax either. And besides all this we had oil given us.

With the advent of the automobile and the increased mileage of improved highways, still another factor obtruded itself upon the attention of the highway engineer; namely, the motor truck. In order to provide for the heavy loads consequent upon the increased use of the motor truck, it became necessary to utilize much heavier types of construction for both the subbase and the metal surface of the pavement. This at first consisted of a heavier base on which was laid waterbound macadam or gravel, as the case might be. With the advance in scientific

knowledge came the use of various so-called improved macadam or asphalt-composition roads. Practically all these types of roads were open to the objection that they were more or less easily broken up and impaired by heavy travel, by frost, and by other weather conditions, so in 1913 the department began the experiment of what are popularly known as cement roads. All these various kinds of roads are at present constructed and maintained by the department, the choice being determined by the nature and the volume of traffic which it is expected the road will serve.

While the types of construction in use on the highways have proved more or less satisfactory so far as the heavily loaded vehicles of today are concerned, the bridges of yesteryear are being relegated to the realm of the obsolete, and the rebuilding of many bridges that might otherwise have served a useful purpose has been necessitated. The great increase in traffic has made necessary not only the rebuilding of bridges but also the widening of many highways to accommodate in some sections over forty thousand vehicles a day.

IV

THE history of the bridges of Connecticut is not less interesting than that of its highways. In colonial days both were of necessity primitive. Wood was very plentiful throughout the land and it was only natural that the colonists should resort to it as material for bridge construction. If a small stream was to be crossed, large trees were felled and hewn on two sides and placed on dry masonry abutments. The trees so placed formed the beams and were at first covered with straight limbs and later with planks. If the stream was large, stone or timber piers were built and timbers laid from pier to pier.

Stories of the builders of the old covered wooden bridges are among the most interesting of engineering. Those bridges were not designed by any theoretical analysis but by rule of thumb. Experience and sound judgment were the main factors in their construction. Most members were constructed of hewn timbers. The craftsmanship was as nearly perfect as could be desired. The framing and joining were as accurately done as if it had been cabinet work, and allowances were made for the shrinkage of the timber and for other woodworking problems.

Theodore Burr, Lewis Wernwag, Thomas Pope, and Ithiel Town were the most prominent earlier bridge builders in America. Ithiel Town (1784-1844), a native of Thompson, Connecticut, patented the latticed truss—the first truss essentially American. It was all wooden construction with multiple, diagonally intersecting webbing that consisted of a multitude of light members. It has been the prototype of many truss forms, both timber and metal. It soon became very popular and many bridges were constructed from Town's plans, the greatest span length attained being two hundred and twenty feet. Town was a very conservative bridge builder and in order to assure himself that the long-span bridges would carry the loads safely, he built a scale model fifty feet long and made loading tests upon the model, thereby developing a method of proportioning the timbers to the length and load of the span.

About 1790, the first long-span bridges were seen in America. They were primarily timber-arch spans and practically all were effectively housed to prevent decay. Connecticut utilized improved plans in 1806 in the reconstruction of what is now known as the Old Cornwall Bridge, today an historical landmark. It was built upon stone abutments and boasted a span length of one hun-

dred and twenty-eight feet. The main trusses were constructed chiefly of native oak. A secondary double queen-rod truss, all of oak timber, was constructed on the inside of the latticed trusses for the purpose of keeping the main trusses in a straight line. Seven months were required for its construction, and according to the town record, twenty surveyors supervised the job. Patterned after the same plan were bridges over the Housatonic at West Cornwall, Kent, and Gaylordsville and over the Naugatuck at Seymour.

The legislature of 1915 passed an act which, for the first time, placed the obligation for bridge construction upon the state highway department. Inasmuch as the work of bridge building at that time was not very extensive, the department made no special reorganization to take on this additional work. The first structure of any importance completed by its engineers was the bridge across the Saugatuck river on the Boston Post Road in Westport. Following this, the department designed and constructed a concrete-arch bridge over the Housatonic river at Derby and, having successfully completed this, it undertook the far larger task of building a bridge across the same river between Stratford and Milford. This was also a concrete-arch structure and is the most expensive single bridge project yet achieved by the highway department, the cost having been approximately one million five hundred thousand dollars.

Since the World War, the development of motor truck traffic has been so pronounced that the number of bridges requiring reconstruction has constantly increased and the department has been compelled to erect many large structures in various parts of the state. Among the most notable and interesting of these are the Cornwall bridge over the Housatonic river, the Reynolds bridge over the

Naugatuck river, the Jewett City viaduct, the Thomaston-East Main Street grade-crossing elimination, the bridges over the main-line tracks of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad at Southport, Milford, and Stratford, and the recently completed arch bridge over the Hammonasset river between Killingworth and North Madison.

The selection of the type of bridge depends upon a variety of factors. As a general rule, where good foundation material is available and where it is desired to construct a bridge of more than ordinary artistic worth, it has been the policy of the department to use a concrete arch for large spans. Where good foundations are not available or where a low grade line does not give sufficient headroom to spring an arch properly, a steel truss must frequently be employed. Bridges of this type are wholly utilitarian, having little or no artistic merit. They serve merely to span a wide stream without the use of piers. This is a matter of prime consideration where the stream is known to carry considerable ice and debris at times of high water. For ordinary crossings it usually develops that neither excellent foundations nor high grade lines are available. In such cases a beam bridge in either concrete or steel offers the best and most economical solution. For various short spans, of which there are a great number, a concrete slab is usually chosen on account of the simplicity of its construction.

The obligation for maintenance of bridges on Trunk Line and State Aid roads rests with the state highway department. In the matter of construction, on Trunk Lines, the state bears the entire cost; on State Aid roads, the cost is divided between the state and the town in the same proportion as for State Aid road construction, unless the bridge in question is one which has already

been improved by joint action of the state and the town. In this case, the state bears the entire cost.

V

ANOTHER duty devolving upon the highway department is the elimination of dangerous conditions on state highways. This type of work applies not only to grade crossings on the state highway system, but also to underpasses and overpasses which are considered inadequate, either because of alignment or width of bridge, or on account of traffic conditions.

In determining which crossings to eliminate, the department is influenced by two considerations: first, the necessity for the removal of existing conditions which future increase in traffic might render dangerous; and second, the permanent development of the highway system. First of all, the department seeks to remove narrow bridges located on sharp curves or which have similar hazardous features and, with the coöperation of the transportation companies and the public utilities commission, to construct overpasses or underpasses at existing grade crossings where the carelessness of automobile drivers has already led to accidents. Secondly, it is the desire of the department to proceed with the construction of a modern highway by establishing what it believes to be permanent lines and grades, by acquiring additional rights of way where necessary, and, in a word, by finally locating the highway in what is expected to be its permanent position. In the work of separation of grades, thought is given to the future development of the highways and the probable increase in traffic, thus effecting economies in any future program of this kind of construction.

VI

VARIOUS changes have been made in the amounts that the towns are required to pay for the original construction of highways, and in every change the town has benefited. At first, the state, the county, and the town paid one third each, but, in 1897, the counties were eliminated from any contribution, responsibility, or authority over the roads. At the present time, the towns are divided into two classes: those having average receipts from taxes for three years of thirty thousand dollars or more, pay one fourth of the cost; other towns contribute only one eighth of the cost of original construction.

The demand for highway construction became so insistent that, in 1908, the legislature set apart the receipts from automobile fees for the use of the highway department, and in 1924 the receipts from gasoline taxes were also, by legislative enactment, placed in the highway fund. Previous to 1927 the legislature made specific appropriations to the highway department from the general funds of the state, but since that date the highway department revenue state-wise has all been received from these two sources.

Originally created for the specific purpose of constructing roads, the maintenance of which was left in control of the towns, the highway department has had many additional duties assigned to it. Among these are the maintenance of state highways, the cost of which since 1923 has been paid entirely by the state; the elimination of dangerous conditions on Trunk Line highways; the improvement of roadsides; the installation of proper direction and warning signs; the establishment of boundary lines on the highways; the securing of rights of way for the purpose of widening and straightening roads;

and the removal of snow and ice from the state highways. The result of this steady, yet inevitable, expansion in the scope of the department may be readily seen when it is realized that since the appointment of the present commissioner in 1923 there has been no single branch of the Connecticut state government more extensive, more diversified in activities, or more far-reaching in its ramifications than the state highway department.

An idea of the tremendous growth of the department is furnished by the increase in the size of its budget. From its creation in 1895 to the end of the fiscal year 1896, the highway commission expended \$45,530.35. The peak was reached in 1928 when the disbursements of the department amounted to \$16,418,646.18. The amount of work done by the department is now, of course, dependent upon the amount which is obtained from motor vehicle receipts, the tax on gasoline, and federal aid. After 1928 these amounts decreased considerably, with the result that in 1933 the expenditures were only a little over \$12,000,000.

There are approximately twenty-five hundred miles of hard surface roads in Connecticut, exclusive of the town roads over which the state has no jurisdiction. In 1931 the legislature passed a law providing for an expenditure of three million dollars a year on the town roads. This grant is not a direct cash transaction to the town, but is available for the use of the town on roads designated in an agreement between the town officials and the state highway department. It may be used for the construction, reconstruction, or maintenance of town roads, but all expenditures are handled by the state highway department and the work is done under its supervision.

The United States government also furnishes a certain percentage of the cost of construction of roads which are

parts of what is known as the Federal Aid System in the state. The national government has set up a certain number of through routes on which it has agreed to pay a percentage of the cost of construction. Under the original federal aid agreement, the government furnishes to the state twenty-five thousand dollars per mile as well as fifty per cent of the cost of the bridges necessarily involved. On the national relief projects the federal government furnishes one hundred per cent of the cost, provided the cost does not exceed the original project agreement. On public works projects, the federal government furnishes thirty per cent of the cost of labor and materials. To secure this money, however, the state must first expend the total cost and then prepare vouchers for the national government's share of these expenditures.

VII

THE increasing duties of the highway department³ are naturally reflected in the growth of its personnel. Until the department moved into its present quarters in the new State Office Building, operations were hampered because of inadequate room and lack of facilities to conduct properly the affairs of the department. Shortly after moving into its present quarters, the department was completely reorganized in 1928. There are now five bureaus: engineering and construction, business administration, maintenance, roadside development, and highway boundaries and rights of way.

To give an adequate description of all the activities of these various bureaus would entail many thousand

³In Connecticut the registration of motor vehicles and the licensing of their drivers and the general regulation and control of traffic on the highways are vested in the separate department of motor vehicles, established in 1917. The department of state police is charged with the enforcement of the motor vehicle laws and maintains highway patrols.

written words. It will be sufficient to say that each bureau has complete responsibility for the various functions indicated by its name. The bureau of business administration naturally has direct contact with all other bureaus in a number of its functions. The bureau of highway boundaries and rights of way has charge of three matters; namely, land titles, boundary surveys, and right of way purchases. After it has been determined that a specific road shall be constructed, it is the duty of this bureau to search the title to the property to be acquired and to purchase the right of way. It also is continually busy with the establishment of road boundaries which have become lost or uncertain, and with properly marking the boundaries of all state roads. In addition, this bureau acts as a service agency to the general public and to the other bureaus in establishing right of way lines on state roads anywhere in Connecticut. While not so spectacular as some of the work of the department, nevertheless its importance, in view of the necessity for accuracy, both in acquiring property and in determining boundaries, can hardly be overestimated.

The bureau of engineering and construction deals directly with all matters involved in the preparation of plans and estimates for road and bridge construction and supervises the actual work of such construction. It also conducts special research in supplies, materials, and methods. It consists of four divisions: (1) location and design, (2) bridges and grade separations, (3) contracts and construction, and (4) materials engineering.

The bureau of maintenance functions by direct authority of the highway commissioner and its sphere is correctly described by the title. It has charge of the maintenance of all highways and their appurtenances, except bridges. Among its important tasks is the removal

of snow from the state highways, which has become one of the major activities of this bureau and one which perhaps adds as much to the personal comfort and convenience of the traveling public as any other work it may do.

In addition to these bureaus, the department also includes the state aid agent whose activities have already been mentioned; the highway public utilities engineer who conducts hearings on behalf of the highway department before the public utilities commission in matters pertaining to grade-crossing eliminations, improvements of dangerous conditions at existing overpasses and underpasses, and changes or abandonment of trolley lines, and, in general, represents the department in all matters connected with public utilities. This office was created at the time of the reorganization of the department in 1928 and centralized work that had been done previously by the commissioner, the deputy commissioner, and the division engineer. There is also a highway budget engineer who handles the preparation and administration of the department's budget, and a highway audit section whose functions are the auditing of the financial transactions, accounts, and records of the department.

VIII

FOR a number of years roadside improvement had been undertaken in this country sporadically by individuals upon their own property, by small municipalities, and, in less frequent instances, by counties which had highway systems. In Connecticut, the bureau of roadside development was organized in July, 1927, as an adjunct to the state highway department, with specific duties to perform.

Starting from a very small beginning, the bureau of

roadside development has expanded from year to year and has caused the state to become known country-wide for the scope and character of the work it has accomplished. Aside from beautification, the work of this bureau results in a direct saving through properly preserving roadside slopes, thereby preventing erosion, and through constantly supervising rock cuts to eliminate the possibility of the dislodging of boulders which would be a menace to travel.

When a highway is proposed either for construction or reconstruction, plans for roadside development are at once prepared with a view to conserving good native trees and shrubs that might be destroyed by the construction work as well as to arrange for the stripping and piling of top soil where it can be economically saved for future landscape work. On the completion of the highway, it devolves upon this bureau to grade, seed, or plant raw slopes through cuts and fills so as to stabilize the embankment, thereby eliminating erosion and lessening the cost of maintenance, as well as adding beauty to the highway. Among the many duties which fall to the lot of this bureau are the planting of trees, shrubs, and vines to provide shade and roadside beauty; the maintenance of older shade trees in safe condition; the removal of unnecessary obstructions to landscape and water vistas by the cutting of weeds and grass and the selective trimming and pruning of shrubs and trees; provisions for safety of traffic by the proper inspection and maintenance of roadside conditions such as rock cuts, earth slopes, and embankments; the trimming of trees to provide sight lines at curves, approaches to railroad crossings, highway intersections, and bridges; and the prevention of destructive insect infestations by approved methods of control.

Two other important functions of the bureau of road-

side development are the establishment and maintenance of roadside rest areas and the maintenance of historical sites and monuments upon the highways. Intersection triangles, formerly a source of annoyance to the aesthetic, are now maintained as small parks. In laying them out, special attention is given to the idea of assisting traffic; thus, many serve as rotaries. Waste areas on roadsides and island plots between short, abandoned curves and new, straightened highways are also improved; usually they are kept in as natural a state as possible and are planned to harmonize with the surrounding landscape.

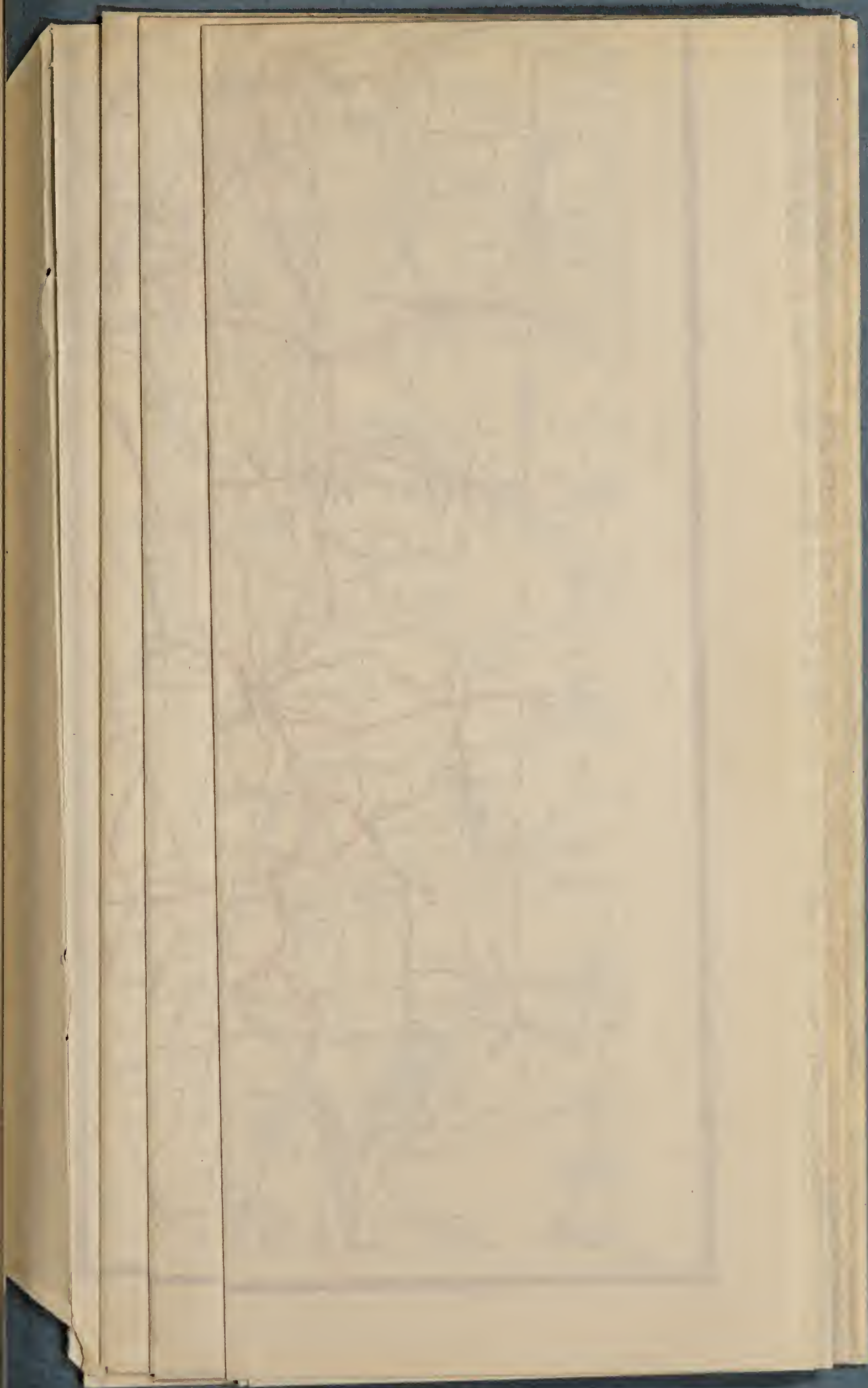
Within the boundaries of this state there are numerous trees, boulders, monuments, milestones, and other landmarks of earlier days which are treasured by the people of Connecticut. Many are located within the state right of way and the bureau has, as one of its activities, the restoration and preservation of these landmarks.

IX

HIGHWAY building, since the formation of the state highway department, naturally divides itself into three distinct epochs: from 1895 to 1913, the promotion of the good-roads movement; from 1913 to 1923, an attempt to meet the demand of the public for the maximum amount of road mileage possible under the appropriations without much thought of the width or line or grade of the road; from 1923 to the present, the construction of a type of road which will take care of the ever-increasing traffic without adding to the hazard; that is, by widening and straightening existing roads so as to remove dangerous curves, by increasing the sight line, by the elimination of grade crossings at railroad and highway intersections, and by the correction of other traffic hazards.

Thus is told the story of road-making in Connecticut

under the state highway department, which completed twoscore years of activity on June 30, 1935. There are comparatively few living in the state at the present time who have definite knowledge of the department and its work throughout the period since its inception. What the future may develop in methods of road construction and maintenance or what may be needed to accommodate the largely increased traffic demand cannot be predicted. It is fair, however, to assume that the department that has functioned faithfully during forty years and has been sufficiently flexible to grow with the increasing demands, will be found competent to meet and solve the problems of the future.



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MAP
OF
CONNECTICUT
SHOWING THE SYSTEM OF
STATE HIGHWAYS
AND OTHER
IMPROVED ROADS
PREPARED BY
THE STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

1935

LEGEND

Trunk Line Highways
State Aid Roads
Improved Roads other than State
Location Numbers (Placed Opposite Intersections)

Improved
Unimproved

INDEX TOWN LOCATION NUMBER	INDEX TOWN LOCATION NUMBER	INDEX TOWN LOCATION NUMBER	INDEX TOWN LOCATION NUMBER	INDEX TOWN LOCATION NUMBER	INDEX TOWN LOCATION NUMBER
C6 Andover, 179-181	G6 Columbia, 184-187, 194	D5 Guilford	E5 New Britain	D2 Ridgefield, 227, 242, 245, 338	B6 Vernon, 62-68
D3 Ansonia	B2 Cornwall	C5 Haddam	C5 New Canaan	C3 Rocky Hill, 168-171	C8 Wallingford, 284, 339, 347, 348
B7 Ashford, 82, 87	B6 Coventry, 76	D4 Haddam	D2 New Fairfield	D2 Roxbury, 126, 129, 130	C2 Warren, 25, 120-124
B4 Avon, 48, 49, 337	D2 Cromwell, 166, 167, 172, 175	D7 Hartford	D4 New Hartford, 36, 37	C2 Salem, 193, 244, 346	C2 Salisbury, 1, 2, 21, 22, 354-355
B4 Barkhamsted, 34, 35	D2 Danbury, 228	A4 Hartford	D4 New Haven	D6 Saybrook, 301	C7 Scotland, 193, 209, 210, 353
D3 Beacon Falls, 266, 267	C2 Danbury, 329	A4 Hartford	C5 Newington	D7 Seymour, 268	D3 Sharon, 19, 20, 28
D4 Berlin, 162, 164, 165	D3 Danbury, 329	A4 Hartford	C7 New London	D2 Shelton, 276	B4 Shelton, 320, 321
D4 Bethany, 283	D5 Durham, 286-289	C2 Kent, 117, 183	C2 New Milford	D3 Southbury, 260, 261	C6 Waterbury
D3 Bethel, 235-238, 241	D7 Eastford, 83	B8 Killingly, 111, 114, 117	D2 Newtown, 239, 240, 251	D3 Waterbury, 260, 261	C6 Westbrook, 302-304
C3 Bethlehem, 131-136	B5 East Granby, 46, 50-54	D5 Killingworth, 290, 292, 294	D4 North Branford	D3 Westford, 161, 351, 352	C2 West Haven, 285
B6 Bloomfield, 58	D6 East Haddam, 299, 347	D7 Lebanon, 195	D4 North Haven, 365	E2 Weston, 320, 321	C2 Westport, 324-327
B6 Bolton, 69-71, 74-77	D4 East Hartford	D7 Lebanon, 195	D4 North Haven, 365	C6 Wethersfield, 84, 348-350	C6 Willington
C7 Bozrah, 201-206	D4 East Lyme	C3 Litchfield, 125, 137	D8 North Stonington, 314	C6 Wilton, 316-319	B3 Winchester, 30, 33
D4 Branford	D4 East Lyme	D7 Lyme, 300, 307	C2 Norwich, 223	C6 Windsor, 56, 59, 346	C4 Wolcott, 150-152
E3 Bridgeport	C2 Bridgeport, 127-128	D5 Madison, 291	D6 Old Saybrook, 309	C6 Woodbury	C6 Woodstock, 14, 85, 86, 100-102
D2 Bridgeport, 229-234	D4 Canton, 215, 217, 224	D7 Manchester, 341-343	D6 Old Saybrook, 309	C6 Woodstock, 14, 85, 86, 100-102	
D2 Brookfield, 229-234	C4 Canton, 38, 39	D7 Mansfield, 89	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
B8 Brooklyn, 97, 98, 106-110	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C6 Marlborough, 177, 178, 188, 189	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
B4 Burlington	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C6 Meriden, 157, 163, 281	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
C4 Bristol	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C4 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
C7 Canton, 215, 217, 224	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
C4 Canton, 38, 39	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
C7 Cheshire, 156, 282	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
D6 Chester, 257-259	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
C5 Clinton, 295, 296	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
C6 Colchester, 190-192	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		
B3 Colbrook, 5, 31, 32, 334, 358, 359	C7 Canaan, 23, 24	C5 Middletown, 143-147	D6 Old Saybrook, 309		

JONATHAN TRUMBULL HIGHWAY
Begins at N. Y. State Line in Salisbury, follows U. S. Rt. No. 44 then Hartford to Bolton, then U. S. Rt. No. 8A to Rt. No. 87, then Rt. No. 87 to New Britain, then Rt. No. 8A to Fairville and Rt. 1 State Line.

ETHAN ALLEN HIGHWAY
Begins in Norwich, follows Rt. No. 7 north to Mass. State Line.

GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL HIGHWAY
Begins in New Haven, follows Rt. No. 16 to Middletown, then Rt. No. 3 to Rocky Hill, follows old Rt. No. 10 thru Rocky Hill and Westfield to Hartford City Line, then Rt. No. 9 to center of Hartford then U. S. Rt. No. 8A to Westfield Locks, then Rt. No. 30 to Ball Run Corner, then Rt. No. 16 to U. S. Rt. No. 8A, then U. S. Rt. No. 8A to Mass. State Line.

GOVERNORS RD.
Rt. No. 2 from Hartford to Colchester, then Rt. No. 85 to New London.

SILAS DEANE HIGHWAY
Section of Rt. No. 9 from Rocky Hill to just north of Hartford-Westfield Town Line.

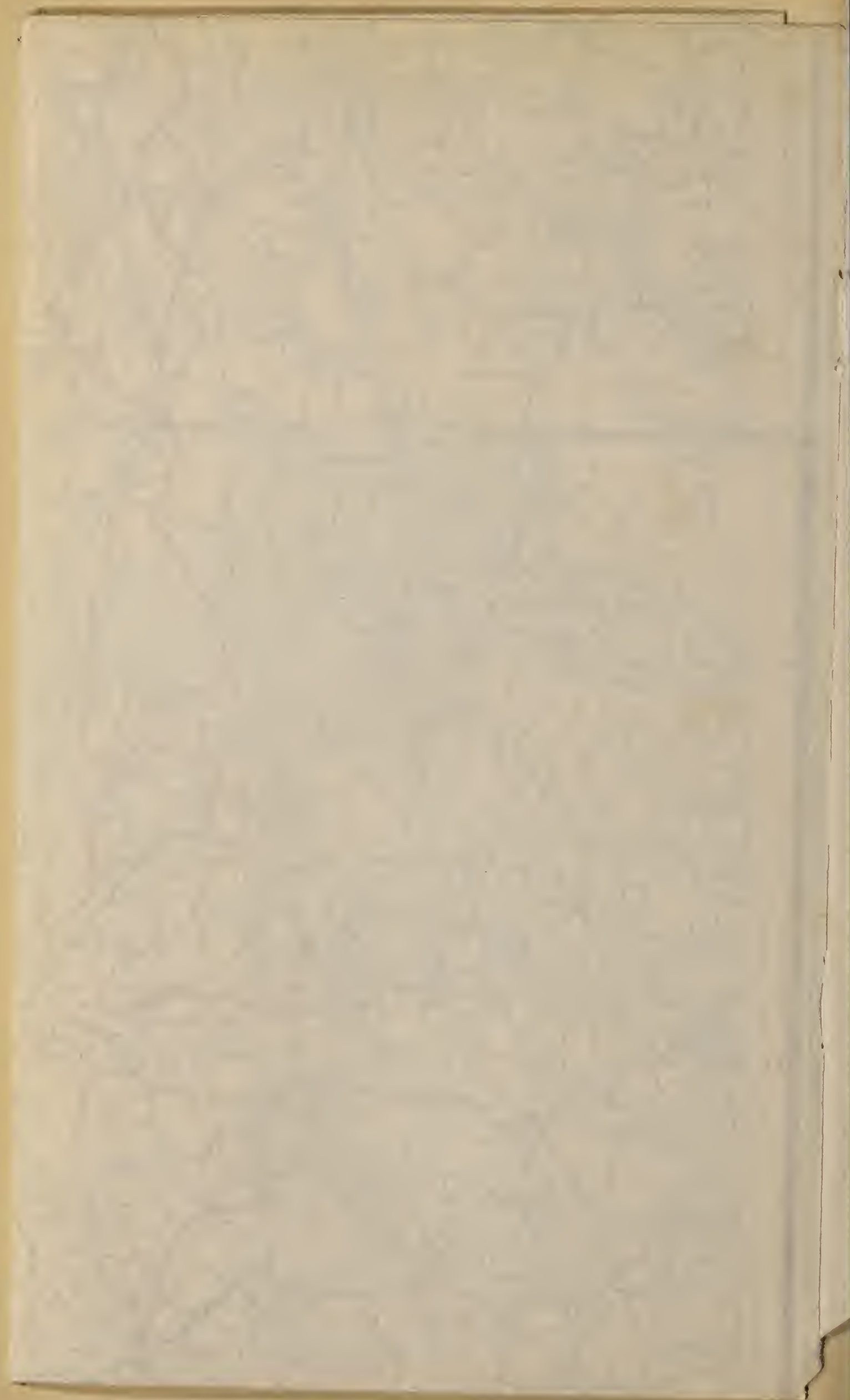
SEAUMONT MEMORIAL HIGHWAY
Rt. No. 86 from Lebanon St. on Rt. No. 87 to Williamstown.

MERRITT HIGHWAY
Begins at N. Y. State Line near Glenville, ends at Washington Bridge, Stratford. Location not determined.

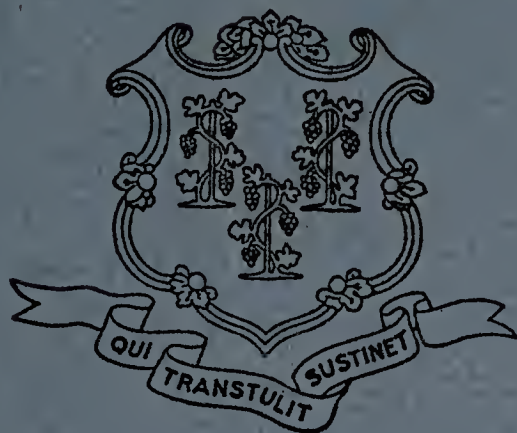
CANDLEWOOD LAKE DRIVE, WEST
Begins at intersection of Rt. No. 37 and No. 96 at New Fairfield, follows Rt. No. 28 north along West side of Candlewood Lake to intersection with Rt. No. 37 near Sherman.

GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM MEMORIAL HIGHWAY
Begins at Mass. State Line in Woodstock, follows Rt. 95 to Norwich, then Rt. 8 to New London.

ELIPHALET NOFT HIGHWAY
From East Willington, over Rt. 74 and U. S. Rt. 44 to Warrenville.



TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT



COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

XLVII

*A Lawyer of Kent:
Barzillai Slosson and His Account
Books, 1794—1812*

MABEL SEYMOUR

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
BY THE YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1935

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XLVII

*A Lawyer of Kent:
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MABEL SEYMOUR

With the collaboration of Elizabeth Forgeus¹

I

ONE of the interesting historical documents in the Library of the Yale Law School is a manuscript daybook kept by a Connecticut lawyer, Barzillai Slosson of Kent, to record the legal business he transacted from the month of June, 1795, shortly after he had opened an office and begun practice in the lower courts, to the last of September, 1798, by which time he had attained the status of a local magistrate, a member of the General Assembly, and a practitioner in the Superior Court. The writer's reputation for accuracy was a tradition of the Litchfield County Bar, and the fidelity with which his records reflect the conditions under which the Connecticut lawyer lived and practiced in the last years of the eighteenth century is beyond question.

The manuscript was presented to the Yale Law Li-

¹ Assistant Librarian of the Yale Law School.

brary, through the intercession of Mr. Harrison Hewitt, by Mr. Otto J. Leonhard of Kent, who rescued it from the dust and rubbish of the old attic in which it had been lying for well over a century when he purchased the old Slosson homestead and set up the sign of the Flanders Arms under the maples its first owner had planted in 1739.

The record which this daybook presents has been supplemented by similar material in four other Slosson manuscripts which have come to light and have been made available by a temporary loan to the Yale Law Library through the courtesy of Mr. Leonhard and Miss Helen Bull of Kent.

II

MUCH of the significance of the Slosson manuscripts lies in the fact that the lawyer who wrote them practiced his profession in the community where he and most of his clients were born, and where the legal problems that arose were chiefly local and personal. In this connection it is worth-while to review the relationship of the Slosson family to the town, and to their fellow citizens of Kent.

Barzillai Slosson was born in Kent, Connecticut, December 27, 1769, eldest of the ten children of Nathan and Elizabeth Hubbell Slosson, and third in descent from Nathaniel Slosson of Norwalk, who was one of the original proprietors of the town. His grandfather's homestead, where he was born and reared, was in the district called Flanders, on the original allotment which Nathaniel Slosson, "pitching for choice," had drawn in the first division of the township, and which, by the terms of the deed that confirmed him and five generations of his descendants in their title to this little piece of Connecticut land, he had covenanted to "subdue, clear and fence." When he first stepped foot upon that homestead, halting

his lean and footsore cattle beside the rough trail where a stake marked "21" indicated his "pitch," it was part of the wilderness that covered the Western Lands. But by 1769 when his grandson Barzillai was born, Kent looked upon itself as a prosperous and settled community. Farmsteads had been built, lands were cleared, pastures fenced, and orchards planted. Roads were laid out, and the Housatonic was bridged. The highway through Flanders came in from New Milford on the south, running down the steep slope of Cobble Mountain, between the long lines of stone wall which John Mills had built across the mountain side above his house, and passing in front of the training ground, Captain Pratt's house, and the tavern, on its way north past the parsonage, and on up the valley. The long irregular space which it circled on the east, cut through by a stream from the Cobble, was in Barzillai's time the Flanders Green, and the center of most of the activities of the town.

Town meetings were held there, though most of the business that came up in them seems to have been settled well in advance by Nathaniel Slosson and his political henchmen, Ebenezer Spooner and John Mills, either in the taproom under the "shew-maker's shop," or before the fireplace of Slosson's kitchen. The tavern and posting house, of course, stood on the Green; as did the school, the parsonage, the smithy, that same "shew-maker's shop" which had progressed by easy stages, first to a tannery and then to a taproom. Not far away, where the little brown stream turned sharply at the foot of the hill on its way to the river, stood the mill, with the miller's house built against it on the highway. All the little local industries, fostered with such care at first, were now flourishing concerns. The taverns, of course, were the most prosperous: drovers and teamsters waited over to

feed and rest their cattle in the public meadows below the mill; travelers between New York and Boston put up and stayed the night; or if in more urgent haste, they rested there and took a pipe and glass in the parlor while they waited for the smith to set a shoe.

In 1774, when Barzillai was five years old, a new meetinghouse was built on the little eminence of the Flanders Green across from Captain Pratt's and opposite the Slosson home. That same year Nathaniel Slosson, Barzillai's grandfather, now approaching his eightieth year, built a second house, on the site where his first one had stood and almost in a line with the new church on the Green. This house still stands, apparently as substantial inside and out, as it was on the day when the master builder who designed and made it laid down his tools. The entrance door, approached by broad, stone steps and entered through a porch ornamented with the beautiful detail which marks the group of old houses on Flanders Green, faced the highway where the first pioneer trail crossed it, and the lawn in front sloped down to the corner of the school lot opposite the tavern. The western windows of the house overlooked the meadows, the bend of the Housatonic, and the wooded mountains above. The eastern side of the house, with a second doorway and porch—lacking the fanlight and sidelights but otherwise quite as beautiful in its detail as the one in front—looked out across the Green to the church, to the Pratt house, and the blue overhanging hills beyond. The church is gone now, and the Green diminished by new highways; but the great maples that were planted around it by the original settlers are still standing, and the charm of the old houses, the dignified fitness of their structure to the landscape in which they were set, is a memorial to some unknown builder of colonial days.

Barzillai Slosson encountered no hardships in attending school. The schoolhouse stood then where its successor stands today, in the hollow at the foot of the old Green, not a stone's throw from his grandfather's doorway. Later in his career when other lawyers noted "the unfailing correctness of his orthography and use of terms" he modestly passed on the credit to the Kent school. He was indebted to his mother, however, for the love of the classics which gave distinction to his work in Yale, and remained the great intellectual interest of a busy life. Elizabeth Hubbell had been taught Latin and Greek by her grandfather, Richard Sackett, minister of the Second Church of Greenwich, and she brought with her some of her grandfather's books when she married Nathan Slosson and came to live with his parents at Flanders. If at any time Barzillai had needed more help than his mother was able to give, he could have found it at the parsonage, for the Reverend Joel Bordwell tutored many a country youth who was preparing for Harvard and Yale. No help, however, accounts wholly for the proficiency to which Judge David Boardman, writing of Slosson many years later, alludes:

in Greek and Latin I never saw his superior, except old President Stiles, nor with that exception perhaps, his equal, unless it was old Parson Farrand of Canaan.²

III

THE circumstances under which Barzillai Slosson was admitted to Yale College can only be inferred. Promising students were often brought to the notice of President

²David S. Boardman, "Sketches of the Early Lights of the Litchfield Bar" (1860), in *Bench and Bar of Litchfield County, Connecticut, 1709-1909*. Dwight C. Kilbourn (Litchfield, 1909), p. 47.

Stiles during his "itineraries" about the state, and he either examined them then or fixed a time for them to come to New Haven. This may well have happened in Barzillai's case, for the President, making one of these journeys in the early autumn of 1789, spent nearly a week in Kent. He was entertained there by the Reverend Mr. Bordwell, of course, and on Sunday preached for him in the church on Flanders Green. He visited the Indians at Scaticook, something no minister could have omitted, and inspected the Yale Farms. Those duties finished, he went to stay with Colonel Mills, whose house, loveliest of the old farmhouses of New England—now the home of Miss Mary Bacon, a direct descendant—stood on Cobble Mountain above the head of the Green. Here, located conveniently, he settled down to study the inscriptions on the "sculptured rock" near Kent. Since he remained in Flanders from the Saturday of one week to Friday of the next, he had ample time to examine a student. But whether he did it then, or at another time and place, it is certain that Barzillai Slosson was a student in Yale in 1790 when he wrote the following letter:

Rev^d President

I have been to the Rock, according to the President's Directions, and have taken the most apparent inscriptions. There are some more on the Rock, which the Inclemency of the weather at the time I was there, prevented my taking. The inscription of the Paper marked, "N^o.I" is taken from the Southern side of the Rock, and is the most obvious of any on the Rock. Those on the Paper marked, N^o II, were taken from the Northern side; the position of the several Figures with regard to each other is not represented on the Paper; but each Figure per se accurately represents the Original, and is separated from the others by Lines drawn for that purpose on the Paper.

I have not yet been able to procure sufficient data for an ac-

curate map of Kent, but will hand one to the President when I return to New Haven.

I am, the President's
most humble and obedient
servant
Barzillai Slosson³

It is interesting to note what Yale College was like when Barzillai Slosson began the work of the senior year in 1790. There were five buildings: the president's house, Connecticut Hall, a residence for the professor of divinity, the "hall, chapel and library," and a dining hall and kitchen. There was a faculty of five men: two professors, President Stiles and Dr. Samuel Wales, Livingston Professor of Divinity, and three tutors. In November the president recorded one hundred students in attendance; but in January, following "an unhappy Tumult," he diminished that number by the rustication of two unfortunates.

Dr. Stiles was devoting a good deal of his leisure time that year, to his "beloved inscriptions," and to his growing collection of maps, and Slosson seems to have made copies of some for his use. Slosson's own interest in history and geography may date from this time; one of his manuscripts, preserved in the town library at Kent, is a brief historical sketch of the township. With this interest in common his relations with the president must have been pleasant. He must have found much in common, also, with certain members of his class; some of them—James Gould, later a colleague of Judge Reeve in the Litchfield Law School, for instance—were brilliant classical scholars, and many of them, like himself, were preparing to take up the law. In May, Barzillai competed in the "Dean's Examination," for the most coveted honor

³ Manuscript letter in the Yale University Library.

of the college, the Berkeley Scholarship, and after a formidable examination—the candidates were examined publicly in the chapel, usually for five or six hours, in “Gr. Testa, Xenophon, Lucian, & Homer; & in Hor. Cic. de Orat. & Tusc. Quaest.”—he received the award. Commencement in 1791 fell on September 14th. Twenty-seven candidates appeared for the bachelor’s degree; most of them paid for their diplomas in dollars, as the President notes in his *Diary*; five of them, asserting whatever social prerogative that conferred, paid in guineas, one in a “Half-Jo”; but Barzillai Slosson and two others received theirs gratis.

IV

WHEN Barzillai Slosson graduated from Yale College, there were but three professions which a young man could enter: the ministry, medicine, and the law. Fourteen men out of the twenty-eight in his class at Yale had chosen law as their profession and were deciding how to prepare themselves for its practice. That question had not risen to perplex earlier generations of New England lawyers, for until the close of the Revolution there was but one way to enter the profession. The law student of those days, we are told,

began by offering his services to some lawyer of note, and, if they were accepted, paid a fee of a hundred dollars, and began to read law books and copy briefs. In the course of two years he was expected to have become familiar with Coke on Littleton, with Wood’s Institutes of Civil Law, with Pigott on Conveyances, with Burn’s Justices of the Peace, with Hawkins’s Pleas of the Crown, with Salkeld’s Reports, with Lilly’s Abridgment, and with some work on chancery and some work on what would now be called international law. This accomplished, his patron would take him into court, seat him at the lawyers’ table, whisper to the gentlemen present, and, with their con-

sent, would rise and ask leave of the Court to present a young man for the oath of an attorney. The Court would ask if the bar consented. The lawyers would then bow. The patron would vouch for the morals and learning of his young friend, and the oath would be administered by the clerk. This done, the new attorney would be introduced to the bar and carried off to the nearest tavern where health and prosperity would be drunk to him in bumpers of strong punch.⁴

By 1791, however, conditions were changing, and the Litchfield Law School founded by Tapping Reeve offered an alternative in the method of acquiring a legal education. Five of his classmates, having decided to take the new way, went to Litchfield and enrolled with Reeve. For some reason Slosson did not join that group; but he made what was perhaps the next best choice when he went to Sharon to serve as tutor in the Sharon Academy while he read law with John Cotton Smith, brilliant jurist, a member of the first Congress which sat at Washington, judge of the Superior and Supreme Courts of Connecticut, and one in the long line of distinguished men who have been governors of the state. This friend and patron presented Barzillai Slosson, after he had completed the two years of study which custom prescribed for men of liberal education, to the Fairfield County Court, probably in November, 1793, that being, as Judge Boardman explains, the first County Court which sat after his clerkship expired. He remained in Sharon in Smith's office for some months, but his accounts show that he was in practice for himself when the Litchfield County Court sat in September, 1794.

Many lawyers entering the profession at this time were turning to the larger cities. Four of Nathan Slosson's

⁴John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States . . . 1790-1803* (New York and London, D. Appleton & Co., 1928), II, 279.

sons, born and bred in the same surroundings, became lawyers. Two chose to practice in the country: Barzillai at home in Flanders, and John at Redding. Two went to New York: William, who built up a large practice there, and Ezbon, who died soon after he was admitted to the bar.

Slosson was married January 1, 1795, a few months after he opened an office in Kent, to Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel and Mary Cass Hatch of Warren, and settled on the Green in Flanders, living first in Dr. Berry's house and later in the residence of Major Buell. They had two sons: John William (1795-1862), and Nathaniel Hatch (1798-1824). The former was a general merchant and conducted his business in what is now the rear wing of the Slosson house; the latter graduated from Union College, studied law with William Slosson in New York, and was admitted to the bar.

Of Barzillai Slosson's first year's practice only one detail is known. He collected some unpaid accounts for a hatter, William Richards, who handed over to him for that purpose the daybook in which they were entered. This daybook is a tall, thin, ledger-like volume, bound in boards and filled with hand-laid paper of substantial quality. Perhaps because the shape and size fitted it for the capacious pockets of the eighteenth-century great-coat, this sort of daybook was much affected by lawyers, and when he had concluded the business of collection and was making his final settlement with Richards, Slosson took over the book for his own use, paying three shillings for it and recording the circumstances of the purchase on the cover in characteristic detail. Richards' accounts, which rarely occupied more than a few lines at the top of the sheets, were crossed off, his own name inscribed on the first leaf with somewhat of a flourish, and that day being June 3, 1795, Barzillai Slosson began his entries in

the "fair, handsome, and legible hand" which was reckoned among his accomplishments, but which became sadly corrupted before the last entry was penned in September of 1798. With the lapse of nearly a century and a half, the ink used for the manuscript has faded to a sepia tint, but otherwise the daybook reached the Yale Law Library apparently in as good condition as when the author laid it aside. The volume is still in the original boards backed with calf, no leaf is missing or torn, none dog-eared; and the writing, with its flourishes, its long s's, its abbreviations of *Majr*, *Esqr*, &c, its notation of pounds, shillings, and pence, is still plainly legible.

When the entries of the daybook were begun in 1795, Connecticut was represented in the federal government by distinguished men who had been trained for the law and had practiced in the courts of the state: Oliver Ellsworth was on the eve of appointment as chief justice of the United States, Oliver Wolcott, Junior, was secretary of the treasury, Stephen Mix Mitchell and Jonathan Trumbull were in the Senate, and Joel Barlow, a special envoy to Algiers, was negotiating the ransom of American prisoners with the Dey. There was, however, no lack of legal talent at home. During the time covered by the daybook, one hundred and twenty lawyers were practicing in Connecticut, which, according to the census of 1790, had a population of only 237,946. Forty of these lawyers were members of the Litchfield County Bar, probably the most outstanding group in the state, including, as it did, Reeve and Gould of the Law School, the younger Wolcotts, Uriah Tracy, John Cotton Smith, John Sterling, and Kirby of the Reports. No young lawyer, entering the profession at that time and place, could have expected either a large or a lucrative practice. The accounts which Barzillai Slosson entered to his credit

during that first month total £17 2½*d.* and out of that sum a number of small amounts were still to be deducted for officers' fees. Only once during the month did an entry reach the sum of a pound, and then it was the fee for a group of five cases. But, at that, Slosson and the generation of lawyers to which he belonged were doing better than Oliver Ellsworth, chief justice of the United States, had done, since he earned but £3 during the first three years of his practice, and supplemented his professional labors with farming and wood-chopping, in order to support his family.⁵ The total, moreover, gives no very accurate impression of the volume of Slosson's practice. Modest as the sum appears to us, it represented a considerable amount of business, for legal contention at that time might be pursued at small expense, as the following entry in the daybook shows:

Bill of costs in the case of Anson Pratt
vs. Eliphalet Richards, before Maj^r Hatch

	D	Cents
Writ	0	60
Due to me		
Travel	1	34
Attendance	0	34
Court	0	34
Ex ⁿ	0	23
Due to me	2	85

But if Connecticut lawyers were poorly paid, they were patronized with great liberality: Jedidiah Morse, the "Father of American Geography," who was revising his famous work for a new edition when Slosson was beginning to practice law, summed up the character of his fellow-citizens in some long-remembered words,

⁵Henry Flanders, *The Lives and Times of the Chief Justices*. (New York, 1875), II, 62.

the people of Connecticut are remarkably fond of having all their disputes, even those of the most trivial kind, settled *according to law*. The prevalence of this litigious spirit, affords employment and support for a numerous body of lawyers.⁶

Jedidiah—himself no exception to the rule, for no one appealed to the law more readily than he—knew his Connecticut; and the daybook bears out the statement by the number and range of Barzillai Slosson's activities. He is attending trials, advising his own clients or assisting other lawyers in advising theirs; inventorying the Brick Shop; drawing leases, deeds, and bonds for deeds; attending "all day arbitrations"; hiring Whitney's horse and riding "over the mountain" to Cornwall to examine the grandjurors' complaint against a client. He is making out partnership agreements; taking depositions; writing wills or searching for wills that were written by an earlier, but seemingly no less litigious, generation. He is going to Widow Mary Edwards' house to advise her in a bargain with John Hopson; viewing the timber-cut in a wood lot; surveying land; collecting doctors' fees; appraising a yoke of oxen; posting books. He is drawing bills of sale, at one time or another, for all the commodities of the state. He is riding to Washington to summon an unwilling witness in the cause of *Kent vs Washington*, when those two towns disputed as to the support of an indigent; or drawing a warrant to transport that same indigent, who seems to have spent her declining years in a series of excursions from Washington to Kent and back again from Kent to Washington, as the selectmen of one town seized upon some momentary lapse in the vigilance of the other to shift the burden of her support.

Slosson became a justice of the peace for his native town in 1798, and served continuously in that capacity

⁶Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography* (Boston, 1796), I, 453.

until his death fifteen years later. His official duties did not interfere with his private law practice, however, and as the record of the daybook proceeds, it grows evident that he has found the way to build up a successful practice. Called upon for assistance in a case, he is frequently given "an engaging fee"—notably in the Winegar cases which were to become the perennial of the Litchfield County docket and the source of steady increment to Slosson's account. The town of Kent begins to furnish him pretty regular employment in those characteristic lawsuits by which Connecticut towns carried on sisterly amenities with each other. The number and variety of the legal services which Barzillai Slosson rendered to his neighbors may be inferred from the number of writs which he drew up: writs of assumpsit, of replevin; writs for malicious prosecution, for assault and battery; writs of ejectment, of covenants made and for covenants broken; writs of trover—trover for oxen, for iron, for Bostwick's logs and John Hopson's mare, for a pair of and-irons; writs of trespass and of summons. An itemized account in the daybook, headed "1798 Acc't of my duties" is summed up at the foot of the page as follows:

In the whole for myself this year of 1798

	Doll	Cents
63 Justice writs at 17 cents each	10	71
30 County Court d ^o on this book and from docket No. 1, for Sept. CC. at 34 cents each is	10	20
In the whole	20	91

The lawyer's patience rarely seems to have given way at the pettiness of the tasks for which he was engaged. Occasionally some laconic phrase crossing an entry shows what he thought of the case, or, more often, what he thought of the prospect for collecting his fee, and once

when he entered a charge of three shillings in the day-book and specified "advice, plague, noise and trouble" one may fairly conclude that he was annoyed.

V

LAWYERS' fees at this time were oftener than not paid in produce. Nor did this always constitute a hardship; Slosson could hardly go wrong in accepting a half-dozen fleeces or a cartload of flax-straw, since all the processes of cloth-making—linen for sheeting and napery, woolen webs for blankets and heavy clothing—were still routine tasks in most Connecticut households. Wheat was as good as money, for gristmills stood on every stream near Kent. There was no risk in taking the pigs of iron with which the furnace-men paid for their legal incursions and excursions. The blacksmith would hammer some of it into horseshoes and make an honest penny by turning the surplus over to Phineas Smith, the nailor, who, having been worsted by the furnace-men in several lawsuits, thenceforth preferred to purchase his iron from the smiths. Not only were Slosson's fees and those of other professional men frequently paid in produce, but the exchange was effected at what now seems very disproportionate rates. For example, he charged £2 2s., one of the largest fees recorded in the daybook, for "arguing cause for vexatious suit a day and a half"; and he had to pay exactly that amount to a shoemaker for making him a pair of boots. The term fee for two cases in County Court, brought against clients of his by the redoubtable Ephraim Kirby, amounted to the sum which he paid down for a portmanteau. His charge for "going to Washington, Wheaton, &c, in search of evidence in *Kent vs. Washington*" was settled by a town order which eventually he exchanged for five pounds of sugar to carry home

with him. He drew up articles of partnership on a certain Monday morning, on Wednesday he was called upon to arrange the dissolution of the same, a process which required further documentation, and his fees for those writings several months later were traded out "in full" for a pocket handkerchief and two pounds of coffee. All the dickering which this system involved was a part of the economic pattern of the time—of "life in the small." If the lawyer lived by it, so, too, did the doctor, the schoolmaster, and the minister. A large part of Lyman Beecher's salary as minister of the Litchfield church, was paid to him in such exchanges; and when Ephraim Kirby's famous volume of law reports came from Collier's press in Litchfield it was advertised in the *Weekly Monitor* (April 13, 1789) as a work, "ready for Subscribers and Gentlemen disposed to purchase, for which most kinds of Country Produce will be received."

Accounts of collection occupy considerable space in the old daybook, and in this business Slosson was employed by many prominent men of his county. Some of these accounts throw light upon the confused state of the currency at this time, for payments were often specified in "New York money," and Slosson usually transcribed the amount into its equivalent of "lawful money" (the "Lmy" of the entries) when he credited them to his clients. The depreciation which the creditor of that day faced may be illustrated by a payment of £6 8s., "New York money," dated 1794, which Slosson received for Major Talman in 1796 and was obliged to cash for £5 4s., "lawful money." Money of any sort, lawful or otherwise, was not always forthcoming, however, and Slosson was frequently forced to accept commodities for his clients as well as for himself, a circumstance which led to some curious entries in the old book. Occasionally he

notes the receipt of a payment in iron, brought direct to him from one or another of the many furnaces near Kent, and among his papers are records of promissory notes payable in iron. When he took "8 Cyder Barrels" in lieu of currency the transaction demonstrated Slosson's sound business judgment, and his predilection for Yankee dickering; for, after some bartering in which the "Cyder Barrels" changed hands several times, he finally had the satisfaction of crediting his client's account in the daybook with the entire sum due him—and annotated it, "Lmy."

Many officers of the Revolutionary army still lived in Litchfield County, and Slosson's relations with this group are indicative of his standing in a community in which they were arbiters. He lived in Major B's house; pastured his horse on Captain C's grassland; paid "Society Rates" when those became due, and collected money (New York money, regrettably, which was usually at a considerable discount) for absentee majors and colonels. Men with military titles seem to have sued and been sued less often than the rank and file, perhaps because they were often justices themselves; but the legal vicissitudes of the time and place occasionally brought their names within the covers of Barzillai's book. The Revolution, moreover, was not the sole patent of gentility in Litchfield County, and the patronymics displayed on the fading pages of the old manuscript are in the line of good Connecticut tradition: they go back to men who followed Marsh and Buel through the wilderness and founded the Litchfield settlements on the borders of the Western Lands. The first names of Barzillai's clients fit equally with his own into the background of Puritan tradition: Aaron and Abraham and Adonijah, they read; Eliezer and Epaphroditus; Hezekiah and Habbakkuk; Jacob and Jedidiah and Jehoshaphat; and so on down

the alphabet to Zechariah and Zephaniah and Zebedee.

During the time covered by the daybook, Slosson's criminal practice related chiefly to cases that involved petty crimes and misdemeanors. Assault and battery seems to have been common throughout the state; common enough, in fact, to prompt a facetious article in the Hartford newspaper, purporting to give a tariff of costs which would enable any suitor who was disappointed at law, to estimate the expense of private redress.⁷ Consultations over property disputes which Slosson notes in the daybook indicate that divorce was not quite so rare at that time as is sometimes supposed; but Slosson, so far as the daybook specifies, was directly engaged in a case of domestic trouble but once, and then, curiously enough, the case concerned a negro and his "pretended wife." The freedmen could—and usually did—refer such disputes to the "Governour of the Blacks" for settlement, but when Caleb Hill began to feel himself aggrieved at the desertion of his "pretended wife" he appealed to the white man's law and engaged Barzillai Slosson. Slosson followed the time-honored procedure, paying costs as they accumulated and charging the same to Caleb's account. In due time the advertisement that has immemorially proclaimed the defection of wives appeared in the newspapers accompanied by the usual woodcut, which had needed only the generous application of printer's ink to make it appropriate to Caleb's wife. Whether the case was ever brought into court is uncertain, but there was a long course of preliminary negotiations, and later the lawyer was obliged to sue for his fee and costs. He received judgment, execution was levied, and eventually he credited himself with three shillings, fourpence.

⁷Quoted in the *Litchfield Monitor*, Feb. 27, 1793.

VI

IF the constant round of petty litigation which fills the daybook brought its owner very little money, the fact that many of the cases were tried in justice's courts shows that it profited the principals scarcely more; for at that time only such civil cases as involved a sum not to exceed fifteen dollars and only criminal cases which carried a penalty of not more than seven dollars could be tried by a justice. Slosson's practice was not confined to justice's courts, however, and late in the second year covered by his accounts, he began to list separately in the daybook his cases in County Court. In Litchfield during these years the court usually met in March, September, and December. The hilly and boulder-strewn road that lay between Barzillai Slosson's home in Kent and the county seat was not likely to be at its best during those months. There was a bridge over the Housatonic—the covered bridge “over Bull's Falls” which had given Barzillai one of his first fees—but many streams between Kent and Litchfield must be forded if they were still open, or crossed on the ice if they were frozen over. Farmers went in ox carts or sleds if, and as, the condition of the roads permitted; or they walked as the furnace workers did. Oliver Ellsworth, in his day, had walked, too—twenty miles to and from Hartford—when court met; but times had changed since then. Now gentlemen went on horseback, unless they were elderly and permitted themselves the doubtful luxury of a “pung.” Barzillai always rode his own horse, carrying his briefs and a few law books in his saddlebags. Whitney's horse, or even Hopson's, either of which might be hired for six shillings a day, were all very well for riding about the countryside or even for the odd trip to the county seat

between sessions. But at court time, when Governor Wolcott and Chief Justice Adams were to be met on South Street or at the Center, when Litchfield would be crowded with the county notables—all the majors and colonels, the judges, justices, lawyers, and smart young men of the Law School—it behooved a barrister and a Yale man to take some thought for the morrow, not only for himself, where he should eat and what he should drink and wherewithal be clothed; but even for his horse, how it should be accoutred. Wherefore, so the reader may infer, that silver-trimmed bridle, “single rein, washed tips,” bought from John Wood, the saddler and book-binder, with a term fee. Wherefore the “trimmed, blew broadcloth coat and breeches,” the brocaded waistcoat made by Whitney and settled for—indisputably—as an entry in the daybook attests:

To cash—paid at his garden East of his house
by highway—Mr. Bordwell’s land. Settled;

the “knapt hatt” he “bought at vendue,” the white-topped boots, the portmanteau, the shaving-box, the knee-buckles exchanged at the sacrifice of six shillings “boot.”

The December session of County Court was likely to last the greater part of the month, and here, as in all the county towns of the state when court was in session, lawyers, litigants, and witnesses came to stay. After the Catlin House was built, Slosson stayed there with his two friends, David Boardman, later judge of the County Court, and Samuel Southmayde; the three always occupying the same room, as the custom then was. But in the early days of his practice he boarded with Ebenezer Marsh when he attended court, paying a reckoning of twelve shillings a week. Slosson’s choice of a residence

showed a lively sense of what the lawyer owed to his professional standing, for the old colonial house where Marsh lived stood on South Street in the fashionable section of the town. Governor Oliver Wolcott lived on that street, his two sons—Frederick, clerk of the County Court, and Oliver, then secretary of the treasury in Washington's cabinet—Chief Justice Andrew Adams, Judge Reeve, Ephraim Kirby, Major Seymour, and other prominent citizens; and there, too, was the Law School where a full half of the Litchfield bar had studied with Judge Reeve. Across the curve of the Bantam River rose Chestnut Hill; and to the north, climbing the sloping hillsides above the town, streamed the long rows of trees in the apple orchards of the sheriff, Lynde Lord. At the center, rising against the blue of distant hills, the Litchfield County Court House stood near the Green; white-painted, reticent, with pillars and pediment and spire. Not greatly unlike many churches found on the greens of New England towns, it was a reminder of that not-distant past when the town meetinghouse had dispensed both the law and the gospel—and not infrequently “the Powder and Ball”—to Connecticut men.

Court was the one unfailing diversion of provincial life in the early days of the republic, as it had been in colonial times, and when it sat all classes of citizenry in Connecticut expected to attend. In that respect Litchfield was like all other county towns in the state. Farmers left the winter “chores” to the women and smaller boys, and took their older sons with them to town. Ironworkers banked the fires in their furnaces and gathered in from Ore Hill and Salisbury and Kent; teamsters, who should have been on their way south to New York with their loads of freight or outward bound to the Hudson River towns and Albany, stopped off at Litchfield and crowded

the tavern stables with their teams. All this the builders had taken into account, and the Litchfield courthouse was the envy of the legal fraternity in other parts of the state. Large and beautifully proportioned, the courtroom rose to a beamed roof, and a double row of windows framed views of the Litchfield hills that were famous with the judges and lawyers of Connecticut long before landscape artists took them for a theme. A wide gallery ran across one end of the courtroom, and at the other end a raised dais with a broad pulpit-like desk lifted the judges to an almost ecclesiastical height above the walnut tables where Barzillai Slosson sat with his colleagues, the famous "fighting bar" of Litchfield County.

Behind the tables of the barristers, in the space between the fireplaces, were chairs for the gentry; and back of those the room was filled with quaint pine benches, made, like the chairs, by Oliver Clark and Ebenezer Plumb at their shop "in the main South Street, a few rods below Mr. Kirby's"—for Litchfield had its own chairmakers who were signing their names on "Heart-back Cherry Chairs, Windsors and Fiddle-backs" before Lambert Hitchcock was born. The carving which added no little distinction to the fine proportions of the courtroom, was designed and executed by Litchfield men also. George Dewey and David Bulkeley had divided the labor between them and, if tradition speaks truly, it should not have been difficult to determine where the work of the one left off and that of the other began. The carved sconces for candles and the panels of doors lent themselves to a design lineally descended from carvings on the old Hartford chests that had come to Litchfield with the founders—tulips with stiffly rectilinear foliage and vines with stiffly triangular bunches of grapes—a design that had been preserved and in a way apotheo-

sized, on the paneled pulpit of the church on the Green. But from the long roof beams, across the railings of the gallery, and before the judges' bench ran a grapevine carving of quite another sort—an errancy of tendrils that perhaps should have been put to shame by the well-pruned and prolific trinity of the state seal toward which they pursued their course. Of all the furnishings of the courtroom, the massive clock that ticked off the hours of the short New England winter's day, alone was not of Litchfield make. Daniel Burnap had fashioned that—one of the few wooden-wheeled thirty-hour clocks he made—had fetched it on an oxsled all the way from his shop in East Windsor to Litchfield, and had set it up beside the bench, with its stout wooden insides none the worse for the midwinter journey over the mountains.

Unlike the church, no regular seating list was publicly promulgated for the courtroom, but the relative dignity of seats that marked the rank of the spectators was tacitly accepted by the community. The chairs at the front of the room were occupied by gentlemen, who, like Barzillai and his colleagues of the bar, still wore the dress of the Revolution: small-clothes with buckles at the knee, wide-skirted coats, brocaded waistcoats, and powdered queues. Farmers in their homespun filed in to the benches behind the gentlefolk, not their inferiors in intelligence and scarcely so in literacy: in Connecticut the professions were still recruited largely from the ranks of farmers' sons. The young men of the Law School with their portfolios sat in the gallery. A Londoner would have missed apprentices in such a crowd. New England apprentices wasted little of their masters' time, but their place in the picture was taken by the furnace workers and the teamsters who congregated in groups to the right and the left, under the gallery. Free negroes and the colored body-

servants of Southern students—at a later time “Old Grimes” was one of these—slipped into vacant spaces near the doors or crowded on the gallery stairs. Except for these blacks, so far as the floor space of the room was concerned, the judges looked down from the elevation of their desk upon a homogeneous assemblage: colonial and Connecticut stock, almost to a man—a little mellowed, perhaps, as Judge Church has said, by living for two generations or more, in a community where “neither Quakers, Prayer Books, nor Christmas were the object of penal legislation”;⁸ but wholly Yankee, nevertheless, in physiognomy and speech. The homogeneity which prevailed on the floor of the courtroom stopped short of the gallery, however, for already the Litchfield Law School was attracting students from all the fifteen states, and in their speech, when court recessed, one might have heard all variations of accent and inflection in English that was no longer the King’s.

In this courtroom Barzillai Slosson made his first appearance in 1794. As an advocate, he had one handicap: his contemporaries record that he “rarely warmed into any high degree of animation.” The spectators who followed his first case in County Court must have been fully aware of this defect—for undoubtedly it would have been considered a defect at that time, and especially in Litchfield, where there were many unusually eloquent pleaders, who were proud of their appellation of the “fighting bar.” Every case—arguments of counsel, rulings from the bench, procedure, points of law—would have been reviewed in more popular tribunals when court adjourned: in taverns, in stores, in the Moot Court

⁸Samuel Church, “Litchfield County Historical Address,” in *The Bench and Bar of Litchfield County, 1709-1909*. Dwight C. Kilbourn (Litchfield, 1909), p. 9.

of the Law School. There were ruder forums, too, lit only by stable-lantern or fire that still glimmered on the forge of some late-working smith, where apprentices who could manage to steal out, after their day's labor was done, gathered to hear the livelier accounts of the furnace-men and the teamsters who loved "lawing" quite as well as their betters, and understood, no whit less, the ins and outs of that ancient game. In these discussions, Slosson's conduct of his cases must have received popular approval; for, while a list of ten entries sufficed to record his business in County Court the first time it was listed separately, with fees that came to less than fifteen pounds, the December term of the next year saw nearly double the number of entries in the daybook, and the total amount of fees more than twenty-five pounds—a very creditable increase of professional business in a year, for that time.

Slosson's business was expanding in other lines of legal practice also. His coolness and deliberation brought him into demand as an "arbitrator," and duties in connection with arbitrations often carried him outside Litchfield County and even across the state line into New York. His "dockett book"—described later—shows that he was practicing before the Superior Court in January, 1795; and two years afterward he began to enter his Superior Court cases in a separate list in the daybook. A comparison of these lists shows that his practice before the upper court ran much the same course as in the County Court. For example, the first list, that of January, 1797, shows three term fees and an "arguing fee"; while the list for the August term of the next year shows eleven term fees—again, a very creditable increase.

VII

ASIDE from the light which it throws upon the jural life of a Connecticut county at the end of the eighteenth century, the daybook is of more than passing interest in its contributions to the social history of the time. Certain of the entries have to do with other than professional matters; and this cursory record, scarcely less arid than the legal details which crowd the fading pages, supplements the expense accounts jotted down elsewhere in the book. Together they sum up many of the outward circumstances of Slosson's everyday life: in whose house he lived and what rent he paid; where he put his cow to pasture and when he took her out; what taverns he stopped at when his clients' affairs took him abroad in the county; on which of those occasions he rode his own horse, on which of them the town of Kent furnished him a mount, and when and wherefore he hired Whitney's grey mare; how much he was charged for "dinner and horse-bait" by the different landlords on his itinerary, most of whom were, at one or another time, his clients; what was the manner of his apparel and its seasonal changes; how much he paid for the garments which he assembled from all points of the compass—material from one client, making from another. Everything is set down in meticulous detail. Barzillai knew his clients and intended to avoid—as much as was humanly possible in eighteenth-century Connecticut—appearing in court in any other than his professional rôle. None but the rash, one may suppose, disputed Barzillai's rock-ribbed "book accounts";

Paid Hopson 2/3 for dinner & horsebait &c in cash. A piece of 1/6^d & a d^o 0/9^d.

Paid Whitney 9 shillings in full for making 2 pr. Nankeen Breeches. Paid him at Buell's store by Town Order traded out.

Equally explicit and equally modest are certain manifestations of Slosson's tastes. He took the Litchfield paper, arranged with Buell for copies of the *Herald*, and with that useful functionary, the postrider, for the *Courant*, which no gentleman in Connecticut, then, could be without, and for additional journals from Boston and New York. His annual almanac he bespoke in good time each year, lest the demand for Nehemiah Strong's—which was "Calculated for the Meridien and Horizon of Lichfield [sic]," and hence a matter of pride to every loyal citizen—should exceed the supply from the Collier press, and he find himself obliged to use some alien version of that "supreme and only literary necessity." He subscribed for Swift's *System of the Laws of Connecticut*, and noted in the daybook the receipt of his copy and the price, four dollars. The postrider brought him Salmon's *Gazetteer*; he ordered the new edition of Morse's *Geography* as soon as it came from the press; and bought Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* when Citizen Adet's letters began to make its author obnoxious to the Federalists. Slosson loaned books, at times; but not without his usual precautions, as may be seen from the following entry, made after one of those "all day arbitrations," at which, evidently, some matters other than the one in dispute had been discussed:

Lent to Ezekiel Payne Junius's Letters—to be returned in a short time to John Hopson's house for me. Returned.

A reader of the manuscript will be convinced that Slosson documented his debts as well as his debtors. One entry, the only one of its kind in the daybook, must have been

made when some sudden emergency called for "lawful money" at a time when he had none. The character of Barzillai Slosson to which, indeed, all his colleagues testify, needs no other memorial than this entry affords:

Took 1 Dol. of Johnson vs. David Bostwick out of paper
& put in $1/6$ & $4 \frac{1}{2}^d$ in a paper. And put it back the
same day . . .

Barzillai, though he knew his Polonius, was both a borrower and a lender; but his careful account of such transactions shows that he lost neither loan nor friend, and the reader will be grateful for the lights and shadows which they add to this little vignette of a Connecticut lawyer's life:

Paid Dr. Berry $1/6$ I borrowed of him at John Payne's
this day. Paid at home—4 pieces of $4 \frac{1}{2}^d$ each.

Amounts which changed hands in this way, usually only among friends, were small; so small as often to be counted in pence and pistarenes. Payment followed closely, and if delayed, the principal was not infrequently accompanied with interest:

Oct. 29. Lent Dr. Berry $22/2$ lmy. $1/2/2$.
Nov. 2. Dr. Berry paid again $22/6$ to me $1/2/6$.

Not all of Barzillai's accounts were of petty and personal interest, however. Some of his cases touched matters of controversy which were of public interest at the time: abuses of the old apprentice system, happily then drawing to its close; opposition to the new turnpikes, fought tooth and nail during those years that brought in the "stage coach era" and relegated the saddlebags, the pillion, and the ox bow to the cobwebbed shadows of old barns. Some of them foreshadowed the struggle beginning

between the states, for fugitive slaves already were slipping into Litchfield, and the bitter divisions of opinion which are reflected in the novels of Mrs. Stowe were separating the people of the county into two camps.

VIII

DAYBOOK "A," now owned by the Yale Law Library, which covers a little more than three of Barzillai Slosson's twenty years at the Litchfield County Bar, ceases with the entries for the September term of County Court in 1798. That record, however, is continued by the four Slosson manuscripts loaned to the Yale Law Library, to which reference is made at the beginning of this article. Three manuscripts loaned by Mr. Leonhard include a volume lettered "Ledger I," the entries of which correspond in the main to daybook "A"; "Ledger II" which carries entries from 1798 to 1806, and a few scattered records bearing later dates; and "Day Book VI," which is similar to "A," and records the daily business which Slosson transacted from July, 1809, to the end of the December session of the County Court in 1812. A few pages have been torn from this book, which otherwise, no doubt, would show the last entry he made, for his death occurred a few weeks after that session adjourned. The manuscript loaned by Miss Bull is autographed *Barzillai Slosson's Dockett for C. C. & S. C.* It contains entries from September, 1794, to March, 1808, and some miscellaneous information; as, for instance, the table of fees which follows:

TABLE OF FEES

In the County Court		In the Superior Court	
Retainer	£0.12.0	Retainer	£0.18.0
Term Fee	0.18.0	Term fee	1. 4.0
Arguing Plea of abatement there being no other de- fence in the cause	1. 4.0	Arguing plea of Abatement	1.10.0
The same—with further defence		———Demurrer	2. 8.0
Arguing Demurrer or peti- tion for New trial	0.18.0	———Issue in fact	3. 0.0
Arguing bill in Chancery	1.16.0	———Motion in arrest of } Judgment }	1.10.0
Silent Appeal including term fee	2. 2.0	———Bill in Chancery	4.10.0
Arguing issue in fact	1. 4.0	———On appointment of } Auditors }	1.16.0
Arguing motion in arrest of Judgment	1. 4.0	———remonstrance to re- } port of Auditors }	2. 2.0
———Do on appointment of Auditors	1. 4.0		
Arguing remonstrance to the report of Auditors	1. 4.0		

Attending Arbitrations

each day . . . £1.10.0

Before a Justice at least nine shillings, and more in proportion to the distance and importance of the cause.

Slosson kept a letter book, also, as certain references show; but he nowhere mentions a “waste book,” though many lawyers of his time found considerable use for one. These documents present a very complete record of his business for the first three years; scattering accounts for the years 1798–1806; and a partial record for the last three years of his practice.

The accounts in these additional manuscripts show that Slosson’s business increased steadily during the twenty years of his practice. The first term of County Court which he had listed separately, in 1796, was represented by ten entries, and roughly computed, brought him about fifteen pounds in fees. For the last term of which there is a complete record, that of September,

1812, forty-five entries are listed and the business transacted totaled over two hundred dollars. A comparison of these accounts with the table of fees in the "Docket Book," quoted above, shows that fees for court cases had increased very little during that time. Retaining fees for both County Court and Superior Court were practically unchanged, and the term fee for Superior Court in 1812, as entries in the daybook show, was usually \$5.50. The greatest variation in fees seems to have been in his charge for arbitrations. At first he attended arbitrations for twelve shillings, as entries in the early manuscript show; but later the fee was rarely less than £1 10s., and sometimes, as in the case of one arbitration at Poughkeepsie where he received \$16, considerably more. Fees like that, however, and like another which he received from the Middletown Bank where he served for thirteen days as "commissioner to receive subscriptions," and credited himself with \$130, were the exception, not the rule, of a country lawyer's practice in Barzillai Slosson's time.

Notes that occur in the ledgers from time to time show that Slosson like many other lawyers, permitted students to enter his office to read law, and that they paid him a fee of forty dollars per annum. The incompleteness of records after the year 1798 makes it uncertain when he first began to take students and how many may have studied with him. There is, however, definite record of seven students between 1801 and 1813, and two of his brothers who became lawyers may also have read law with him.

Though Slosson built up his practice among his neighbors in Kent, he eventually had many clients elsewhere in the state, and a considerable number in other states. His last accounts show that cases were brought to him,

at one time or another, from most of the towns in western Connecticut. He had a good deal of patronage from points across the border in New York, especially in Poughkeepsie. Through his brother William, who was then practicing in New York City, several clients who were interested in business ventures in Connecticut employed him. He handled a few cases for Judge Reeve of Litchfield; and for three of his classmates in Yale, General Peter Buell Porter, Judge Hopkins, and the Reverend Jeremiah Day. He had several clients in Vermont, and a few in the West Indies. So far as the record shows, Slosson had but one client in England, and for that patronage he was indebted to the Reverend Samuel Peters, whose name is associated with the "Blue Law" controversy. The business in which Slosson was employed concerned Kent farms that had been of little use to their English owner since the Revolution. These farms had been purchased by Mr. Richard Jackson of London, sometime British Agent for Connecticut, and the first man who received the Doctorate of Laws from Yale. The land had been farmed industriously, it seems, but the owner received none of the profits. When he made inquiry of Dr. Peters, the latter had recommended Barzillai Slosson.

Collection business and the management of estates had from the first been a source of steady income to Slosson, and his commissions had increased with the value of the properties he managed. It is significant to note that at the time of his death Slosson was still in charge of business interests which men like Major Talman, Samuel William Johnson, and Colonel Tallmadge had entrusted to him when he first opened an office in Kent. In addition to that, Johnson's interests in the iron works at Ore Hill brought him into constant litigation, and Slosson was

rarely without some case in which that property was involved.

The business which he transacted for the town of Kent brought him in a small but fairly constant sum each year; and combined with other circumstances to make him one of the leading citizens of Kent, as his father and grandfather had been before him. Like them he was cool and far-sighted, and, again like them, he kept a watchful eye upon expenses. The town, in Barzillai Slosson's time, supported very few persons at public expense; but the legal difficulties which arose in consequence, suggest that Kent's loss, in the number of indigents, may have been the gain of adjoining communities.

IX

SLOSSON's first ledger, among the volumes loaned to the Yale Law Library, contains a record of interest to lawyers and law librarians, the list of books which he possessed after about ten years of practice. This list, which is headed "Catalogue of my Law books, &c.," was probably complete for the year 1806, the date of the last entry, and shows that his library at that time contained about one hundred ten volumes, sixty-four of which were law books.⁹ No list of works purchased after that time has

⁹The law books are: Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vols., Powell on Mortgages, Powell on Devises, Powell on Contracts, Coke on Littleton (two editions), Strange's Reports, 2 vols., Talbot's Cases, Bacon's Abridgment, 5 vols., Morgan's Essays, 3 vols., Espinasse (two entries without titles), Buller on Trials, Coke's Entries, Swift's System, 2 vols., Coke's Reports, Croke's Reports, 3 vols., Mitford's Pleadings in Chancery, Kirby's Reports, Wyche's Practice of the Supreme Court of New York, Equity Cases Abridged, 3 vols., Root's Reports, Hinde's Chancery Practice, Chancery Reports, Grotius' De Jure Belli ac Pacis, Clerk's Instructor in the Ecclesiastical Courts, Burrows' Reports, 5 vols., Fonblanque on Equity, 2 vols., Brooke's Abridgment, 2 vols., Grotius, 3 vols., Practice King's Bench, Jones' Law of Bailments, Salkeld, Pothier on Obligations, Caines' Reports, Evans' Essays, Williams' Abridgment, 5 vols.

turned up among the papers so far recovered, but scattering entries in other manuscripts indicate that Slosson was steadily making new acquisitions; law books, naturally, led in number, but there were historical works, books of travel, maps, and geographies; and always, of course, his beloved classics. His earlier purchases of law books were made through his very good friend and constant client, Ozias Buell, who bought them for him in New York of the old Duyckinck firm of importers. Later he bought from Isaac Beers, the New Haven bookseller and importer, probably when he was attending sessions of the Assembly. After his brother William went to New York to practice law, books were purchased through him; and others reached his shelves, as has been said, in return for professional services. One entry concerning books is of especial interest. Not until after fifteen years of business, during the greater part of which he also had been a member of the Assembly, did he pass that landmark of gentility, the setting up of a carriage; and the record in his daybook associated that event with another which probably gave him more pleasure:

	D	C
Bo't carriage & harness of O. D. Cooke & paid him	70	00
Also Shakespeare, & Day's rept's, 2 vols. 10 dolls. & pd.	10	00
As pr. Cooke's bill & receipt	80	00

The last book Barzillai Slosson purchased, shortly before his death, was Homer's *Odyssey*, in the original.

X

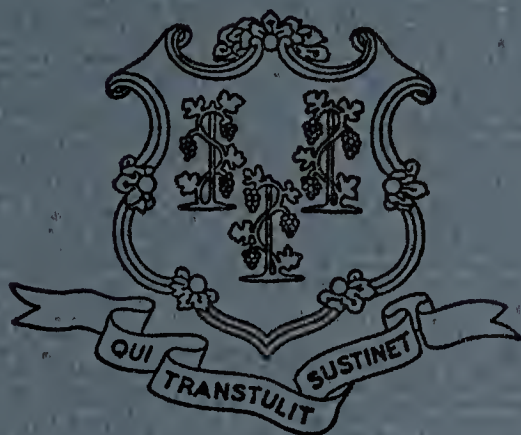
IN the legislation that shaped his period of Connecticut history, Slosson had a characteristically modest part. Though no entry in his daybook reveals that fact, he had been elected to the General Assembly in 1797. He represented the town of Kent for twelve out of the next sixteen

years, and was a Clerk of the House in both sessions of 1812. He attended the term of the Litchfield County Court in December of that year, but was taken ill shortly after it adjourned. In failing health for some time and never of a strong constitution, he declined rapidly and died on January 20, 1813, having just entered his forty-fourth year. He was buried on Good Hill near his father's home, in the old cemetery where many of the pioneers of the township rest.

At the time of his death Barzillai Slosson's estate included much of his grandfather's original allotment in Kent. It was distributed to his heirs, but after the death of his widow and younger son it came into possession of the elder, John William Slosson; and the fine old house that stands near the foot of Flanders Green was occupied by Barzillai Slosson's descendants until near the end of the century. At some time during this long tenure the manuscripts which afford so detailed an account of his law practice were placed—where many years later they were found—between the sloping chimney stacks in the attic, beside some of his well-worn books of Latin and Greek.

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*The Rise and Fall of the
New Haven Colony*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

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This pamphlet publication is comprised of chapters from the forthcoming second volume of the writer's *The Colonial Period of American History*, to be published by the Yale University Press, and this material is here used by permission of the publishers. For the purpose of this series and because of the importance of the subject for the Tercentenary celebration, this period of beginnings has been treated here at somewhat greater length than will be the case in the larger work. All footnotes, references to authorities, and comments on controversial questions have been omitted.

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*The Rise and Fall of the
New Haven Colony*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

"THE colony of New Haven is the ideal laboratory in which to study the germ of Puritanism; only there can it be isolated and put under the microscope . . . New Haven was the essence of Puritanism, distilled and undefiled, the Bible Commonwealth and nothing else . . . Massachusetts contained too many other elements besides Puritanism; it was too large and too complex to achieve in practice an absolute and rigorous working out of the *a priori* philosophy of Puritanism; Connecticut grew up in too haphazard a fashion; Plymouth was too plebeian, in addition to being Separatist, to be completely uncontaminated."¹

DURING the years when Connecticut was laying the foundation of its government and expanding into a commonwealth, a new experiment was being tried on the shore of Long Island Sound, forty miles to the southwest of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. The defeat of the Pequots had removed the danger of Indian aggression in that quarter and had brought the whole coast within the scope of settlement by Englishmen. Until 1638 the seaboard

¹Perry Miller, author of *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650*, in a review of *The New Haven Colony* by Isabel M. Calder (*New England Quarterly*, December, 1935). Mr. Miller goes on to say, "Because Miss Calder is fully

was a wilderness frontier, unoccupied save by the inhabitants of the fort and lands at Saybrook and by the Nehantics, Quinnipiacs, Hammonasetts, Menuncatucks, Paugassetts, and other native tribes stretching eastward toward the Narragansett territory. This eastern stretch of coast had become known to those who had taken part in the Pequot wars and to others seeking opportunities for trade with the Indians. Its lands were remote from the communities already settled but were easily approached by water, as their harbors, though often blocked by silt, were more open than was the mouth of the Connecticut River. The Dutch had sailed along the shore in their visits to Buzzard's Bay and Plymouth harbor and had noted promising ports and rivers, offering favorable sites for forts and trading houses. There is reason to believe that they planned to erect stations at advantageous points, fronting the harbors at Fairfield, Milford, and Guilford, and the river mouths at the entrance of the Quinnipiac, Connecticut, and Pequot rivers, as well as upon the islands in Narragansett Bay. But the only outcome of their efforts was the House of Hope which was established in 1633 on the southern side of the rivulet flowing into the Connecticut at Hartford. However

aware of this ultimate significance, she has written an admirable, solid, and definitive study of the community . . . The book is more than a mere history of one settlement; it is a study of a type, in the one place in which the type is found most perfectly incarnated, and the implications of that study are important not only for New Haven, but for all New England and for Puritanism in general . . . The book is, therefore, one of a few secondary works that are absolutely indispensable for an understanding of early New England."

The writer of this pamphlet, who is here attempting the difficult task of presenting in a comparatively few pages the essential features of New Haven's nearly twenty-seven years of independence, gladly acknowledges that he owes more to Miss Calder than she has ever owed to him, even though she wrote the book under his direction, because of the facts that she has so diligently gathered and the understanding she has displayed in their interpretation.

promising the shorelands may have been for commercial enterprise because of the water connections, they were not well suited to agriculture and stock raising because they were only moderately fertile and varied greatly in value and availability for farm purposes.

The year 1635 in England was fraught with discouragement for Puritan and parliamentarian alike. The writs of ship money had been issued and the trial of Hampden was under way. The Laud Commission was beginning what was feared would be a work of inquisition at home and in the colonies, and the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber were being charged, probably unjustly, with illegality and oppression. In general the outlook for a restoration of the parliamentary system was discouraging. The writ of quo warranto against the charter of Massachusetts Bay had been issued and there were fears of worse things to come. Migration to New England increased. The Puritan lords and gentlemen, beginning to think seriously of crossing the seas, sent over John Winthrop, Jr. to prepare a refuge in America at the mouth of the Connecticut River for them and possibly for others among the parliamentary leaders. Groups of the non-conforming clergy and their followers were yielding to the necessity of leaving England, and were going either to Holland or to New England. This impulse was strong among those who were feeling the weight of Laud's displeasure and who, already rebelling against the ritualistic tendencies of the Church of England, saw in Laud's efforts to beautify the church service and to enforce the religious uniformity required by the act of 1559 an offense against the organization of the primitive church as set forth in the Bible. Every vicar of an English parish church was potentially a plantation builder, for he was more than the spiritual head of his flock; he was a par-

ticipant also in the prudential and secular affairs of the parish. The administration of an English parish gave to vicar, vestry, and parishioners just the sort of experience needed to prepare them for founding a settlement on New England soil. It is not surprising that the villages there should have reproduced in their local practices and methods of administration many of the details of organization and land distribution with which their founders were familiar in their previous life at home.

The history of the colony of New Haven begins with the vestry meetings of the church of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, of which for thirteen years the Rev. John Davenport, Bachelor of Divinity of Oxford, was the vicar and influential head. He had been the curate of the neighboring church of St. Lawrence Jewry, under the eaves of the Guildhall. The selection of a vicar was in the hands of the parishioners, with the approval of the Bishop of London, but the parish vestry by an ingenious adjustment of salary was able to neutralize the bishop's influence and to control the situation themselves. This position of independence gave to the parish considerable experience in handling its own business and to Davenport and his leading laymen an apprenticeship that stood them in good stead when they came to America. During his first years in the ministry at St. Lawrence Jewry, a highly ritualistic church, Davenport adhered sympathetically to the ordinances and discipline of the established system and obtained an excellent reputation for conformity. At St. Stephen's he added to this reputation celebrity as a popular preacher, with the ability to attract followers, particularly among the "common and mean people" as well as among the well-to-do merchants of Coleman Street ward. St. Stephen's was situated in the midst of a prosperous and strongly

non-conformist community, a veritable Puritan stronghold, where lived or forgathered many of those who were interested in the activities of the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay companies, and were closely associated with the mercantile interests of the day. After studying the environment in which Davenport and his associates lived and worked, one need not wonder that the New Haven colony took on a mercantile character or that trade and commerce should have been in their minds the chief concern of the new settlement. Unlike the promoters of other plantations in New England these men were not born and reared amid the manors and fields of old England and never took to farming as a natural and familiar vocation. Neither did the New Haven people ever succeed in becoming successful agriculturists.

Davenport was interested in the Virginia Company of London and although he may actually have become a member, the identification of the name is far from certain. However he did become a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, contributed £50 toward the procuring of its charter, and took an active part in that company's proceedings. There is nothing to show that at this early date (1629) he was interested in any plan of migration, though he showed his sympathies by serving as clerk of the meeting of the company at which Winthrop was elected governor and was present on at least one later occasion. Theophilus Eaton, whose father had baptized Davenport at Coventry, became an assistant of the company and contributed £100. Others, also, of St. Stephen's parish were members—Spurstowe, Rowe, Aldersey, Crane, White, and Bright—so that the intentions of the signers of the Cambridge Agreement to transfer company and charter to America must have been well known to him. It is but natural that when the time came he and those

who went with him should at first have looked nowhere else than to Massachusetts Bay.

As early as 1627 Davenport had begun to attract the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities and was brought, with three other ministers, before the Court of High Commission for printing an appeal for funds to aid the persecuted Protestants of the Upper Palatinate, a citation that cannot have increased his affection for the Church of England. He fully expected to be deprived of his pastoral charge even then, but the blow did not fall, for Laud, whose influence in Davenport's life began with his elevation to the See of London in 1628, was not inclined to trouble himself with minor infractions of the rubrics, and it was not until he found the Puritans engaged in buying up ecclesiastical benefices in lay hands and appointing to them incumbents of their own persuasion that he took action. Davenport was one of those engaged in this business and Laud saw in it an attempt to undermine the strength and unity of the Church of England. The conviction that this attempt would eventually fail and that reform from within the church was hopeless, combined with growing doubts about conformity, had influenced Davenport, in the years 1632 and 1633, to join the group of the non-conformists to which Cotton and Hooker belonged. It is reasonably clear that Cotton was instrumental in shaping Davenport's opinion and it is quite likely that Hooker had a hand in it also. Cotton had fled from Boston in Lincolnshire in 1632 and joined Davenport in London, thus beginning that long friendship between the two men which was to display itself so richly during their life in New England.

Though Davenport was not ready to resign his vicarship, he was fast reaching the conclusion that his services for St. Stephen's were over and that it would be necessary

for him to leave England because of his conversion to non-conformity. Unwilling to cause any public disturbance and much perplexed as to the lawfulness of conformity he wanted to free himself from his former connections with as little trouble as possible and, as far as he could, without affecting the peace and prosperity of his parishioners. Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and unlike his predecessor George Abbot, brother of Maurice Abbot of Coleman Street and St. Stephen's, he had no Puritan sympathies. When Juxon succeeded Laud as Bishop of London, Davenport saw the High-Church world closing about him. Cotton and Hooker were ready to leave. Withdrawing for the moment, for a brief period of retirement, he finally offered his resignation, which the vestry unwillingly accepted, probably in April, 1633, and in December left England for Holland, offering himself there as the assistant of the Rev. John Paget, minister of the English church at Amsterdam. Undoubtedly he had every intention of returning to England when the storm had blown over. But Paget and Davenport fell out over the question of the baptism of the children of unbelievers and the dispute, heightened by the hostile efforts of Stephen Goffe, chaplain in the Netherlands of the English regiment under Vere, rendered it certain that he would not receive a formal call to the assistantship of the church. After he had aided Paget for five months and preached privately for four, he removed to Rotterdam as Hugh Peter's assistant. There it was that the project of the Puritan lords and gentlemen for the settlement of Saybrook came under discussion and there it was that Peter and Davenport persuaded Lion Gardiner to enter the service of the Warwick grantees, while Peter himself accepted the agency with John Winthrop, Jr. and the young Harry Vane. Conditions in

old and new England must have been frequently discussed between them, and when Peter left on his mission Davenport remained as his substitute. Still pursued by the demands of his opponents that he be dismissed, he became convinced that even Holland was no place for him, and in order to escape an inquiry into his religious views by Sir William Boswell, the English resident there, he returned to England in April, 1636, a year and a half after his departure therefrom.

While in Holland Davenport undoubtedly reached a decision as to his future movements. He determined to follow Cotton and Hooker, there to find freedom from the "extremities" of Laud in England and of Sir William Boswell in Holland. Concealing himself from the authorities in the disguise of a country gentleman, he set about gathering a group of his former parishioners and others who were willing to accompany him to New England, and found his chief ally in his former schoolmate and parishioner, Theophilus Eaton. Eaton had been involved in the quo warranto proceedings against the Massachusetts Bay Company, being one of the ten members of the company that appeared before the Privy Council and disclaimed the charter in 1635, and he was one of those who had been placed in charge of the joint-stock of the company on the departure of the main body to New England. Davenport was aided by others also: the Rev. Samuel Eaton, brother of Theophilus; Edward Hopkins, Theophilus' son-in-law and one of the Warwick grantees; David and Thomas Yale, sons of Mrs. Eaton; John Evance, and a few not clearly identifiable as Londoners. In addition there were groups of families from Kent and Hereford, the former from the strongly Puritan towns of Egerton and Ashford, the latter under the leadership of the Rev. Peter Prudden, destined after a few years to

lay the foundations of the town of Milford. We have no knowledge of the circumstances under which these outside peoples joined the London group.

The vessel that bore the company to America was the *Hector*—Ferne, master—a boat of about two hundred and fifty tons burden, which had already been once to Boston, where the mate, Miller, had been committed to jail for “certain seditious and opprobrious speeches” regarding the failure of the colony to display the king’s colors at the fort in the harbor. The St. Stephen’s group probably hired the vessel, on its return in 1636, evidently contracting for the passage money with the men of Kent and Hereford and a few separate passengers, of whom the only one named was Lord Ley, a young man nineteen years old, the only son and heir of the second earl of Marlborough, who went to see the country. Delayed for a time by the government’s impressment of the vessel, the passengers, some two hundred and fifty in number, including many servants, finally got away in late April or early May and reached Boston on June 26. There Davenport found himself among old friends, for though Hooker had already gone to Connecticut, Peter and Cotton were at hand to welcome him, and he took up his residence at Cotton’s house. How the others were disposed of we do not know. Lord Ley stopped at the common inn; the others probably found lodging and employment where they could, all awaiting the eventual decision as to their future course. That they were expected to constitute a plantation in Massachusetts, as other similar groups had done, is evidenced from the tax twice levied upon Eaton by the general court, the amount in the first instance being what he could pay and in the second £20.

There can be little doubt that the leaders fully intended to remain in Massachusetts, for they spent the

summer and autumn considering the opportunities that the situation offered and the locations that were placed at their disposal. The general court bade them select any site that appealed to them. The Charlestown people invited them to make their home there. Those of Newbury, who had already decided to leave their homes and cross the river to Winnacunnet (Hampton, New Hampshire) where the land was more fertile, offered them the tract upon which they were then settled. Plymouth too made them offers. But they would have none of these. Eaton and others among them were merchants, who had their minds set on a place for trade and they could find no harbor along the coast that was not already occupied. The water frontage was overcrowded and the interior, involving a laborious clearing of the forest, did not attract them. Other reasons weighed heavily in the balance. The company had reached Boston at a critical time when the excitement over the Antinomian controversy was at its height and when the struggle between Winthrop and Vane was involving the colony in one of its most troublesome domestic conflicts. Also the news from England threatening the loss of the charter was very disturbing, and they were still fearful that a governor general might be imposed upon them. Davenport played his part in the trial of Anne Hutchinson and probably brought about the conversion of Cotton to orthodoxy just as formerly in England Cotton had helped to convert him to non-conformity, but he could have had little desire to enter into competition for place among the clergy or to help in unraveling the tangle of theological opinion in which the colony had become involved. Prudden and Samuel Eaton were ministers also and were probably similarly influenced. However much God's providence may have designed Massachusetts for those who were

already there, Davenport and Theophilus Eaton were willing to believe that the same "wise God whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitations" had other designs for them. Another country, as yet unoccupied, might well come within the scope of the divine plan. Hugh Peter who had been with Fenwick at Saybrook may well have told Davenport what he saw and heard there. Israel Stoughton had accompanied Mason, Ludlow, and Seely in pursuit of the Pequots as far as the Quinnipiac in July, 1637, and had written favorably of the region, recommending its settlement. Richard Davenport, a lieutenant in the Pequot War, had likewise given glowing accounts. Consequently on August 30, only a little more than two months after their arrival, Theophilus Eaton and others of the company set out for Quinnipiac, their minds fully intent on leaving Boston and finding a place for a plantation on the shores of Long Island Sound. It had taken them but a short time to discover that the Massachusetts Bay colony was no suitable place for the carrying out of the purposes which they had in view.

Eaton returned from Quinnipiac to Massachusetts in the autumn, leaving seven of his companions to occupy the ground which they had selected as the site of their future settlement. These men remained through the winter, losing one of their number by death. They probably kept in touch with their associates in Boston, dispatching reports and receiving instructions, for it is hardly credible that they should have been left there without occasional communication and the receiving of provisions. The larger body continued to live in Massachusetts until the unfavorable season had passed and the weather had become propitious for migration. Davenport continued his activities, preaching sermons, engaging in

theological discussions, and endeavoring by one means or another to induce others than those who had come in the *Hector* to join in the new venture. He almost persuaded Vane and Cotton to go with him, but the former decided to return to England and the latter, hesitating because he thought that his influence in Massachusetts had been impaired by his sympathy with the Hutchinsonian party, finally cast in his lot with Massachusetts. Davenport, however, succeeded in adding to his number Captain Nathaniel Turner of Lynn and Captain George Lamber-ton of the Ezekiel Rogers group. The latter company under the leadership of Rogers, the friend of Hooker while living with the Barringtons in Essex, had crossed the water in another vessel. Some of its members went to New Haven, but a majority remained with Rogers and founded Rowley in Massachusetts. Turner and Lamber-ton were destined to play exceedingly prominent parts in the later history of the New Haven colony.

On March 30, 1638, the reorganized company, differing in some important particulars from the body that crossed in the *Hector*, set sail from Boston, rounded Cape Cod, coursed along the southern New England coast, past the fort at Saybrook, and on to the capacious harbor, larger than it is today, into which flows the Quinnipiac River. There they found the six men who had survived the winter and who may have done something in the way of gathering materials and erecting structures against their arrival. But the preparations could not have amounted to much, for Michael Wigglesworth, who with others came the next October, reports in his autobiography that during the following winter his family "dwelt in a cellar partly underground covered with earth," which proved so unsatisfactory a protection that, as he says further, "one great rain broke in upon us and

drencht me so in my bed being asleep [he was seven years old at the time] that I fell sick upon it." Others had similar uncomfortable experiences. Pits dug in the ground, six or seven feet deep, encased with timber, with plank floors and roofed over were not unknown elsewhere, and these "sellars" may have been something of that sort. A few of them were probably fairly substantial buildings, for we read of them as still occupied in 1642. But as the numbers of the settlers increased, with the arrival of newcomers from Boston and elsewhere, who continued their wanderings until the tide of emigration from England began to ebb, the settlers laid out the town, apportioned home lots, distributed the adjoining fields and meadows, planted crops, and built houses and barns. The town plot was a rectangle, divided into nine squares, of which the square in the center, larger than the others, was set apart as a green or market place. The plot was cut by ways or paths that ran north and south, east and west. Progress was rapid and the cellars and shacks must soon have been supplanted by houses of a more substantial character. The settlement soon fell into the ordinary ways of a plantation.

The Davenport company came to Quinnipiac without royal patent or any certain legal warrant authorizing them to occupy a part of the king's domain. Even if they had reached some understanding with Peter or Fenwick, acting on behalf of the Warwick grantees, whereby they received permission to locate on a part of the Warwick grant, such understanding could have had no legal significance. They bought this land of the Indians, as a group of purchasers or proprietors, and in several successive transactions extending over a series of years gradually enlarged the area of their possessions; and afterward they made a number of efforts to rectify the

situation by obtaining a legal warrant for their claims. In 1644 Theophilus Eaton asked Massachusetts for a copy of her charter, thinking to use it to justify the colony's right to settle on the Delaware but when the general court of the jurisdiction realized the uselessness of the document for this purpose, it set about obtaining a royal patent of its own. It instructed Thomas Gregson, one of the most influential and wealthy merchants in the colony, to go to England, and agreed to furnish him with £200 to meet all charges. As Roger Williams had just received from the Warwick committee of the Long Parliament his patent for Rhode Island it seemed a propitious time for New Haven to do likewise. Gregson was advised to join with Connecticut to procure a joint patent for the two colonies. But the effort came to nothing. Gregson was lost in the "phantom ship" and Connecticut deferred action until 1645 when she asked Fenwick to obtain an enlargement of the Warwick grant in the form of a royal confirmation, but said nothing about a joint patent to include New Haven. Fenwick, as we know, did not make the attempt, probably realizing that he had no sufficient warrant for the application, as neither he nor anyone else could show the crown lawyers or the parliamentary committee any copy of an original Warwick patent. This fact is significant inasmuch as Warwick himself was the head of the parliamentary commission on plantations before whom such application would have to be made. Seven years later New Haven asked Edward Winslow to petition the Council of State for a patent covering the Delaware region, encouraged perhaps by Coddington's successful effort the April before to obtain a commission as governor of Aquidneck. The petition was referred to the Council of Trade of which Sir Harry Vane was the president and then to the committee for

foreign affairs, but nothing came of it. After the Restoration a further attempt was made and it was generally believed in New Haven that Winthrop in his mission of 1661 was to ask for a joint patent, but, as will be noted later, Connecticut had no intention of instructing Winthrop to do so. This want of a patent of any kind was a source of great weakness to the New Haven jurisdiction and gave excuse to the Dutch for calling it "a pretended colony."

Thus the settlers of New Haven, like the Pilgrims of Plymouth, were obliged to erect their civil government upon the uncertain foundation of a title obtained from Indian purchases. Both Davenport and Eaton had their own ideas of what such a civil government should be, for both had lived long enough in Massachusetts Bay to study the working of the system there. Davenport had lived for nine months in the same house with John Cotton and must not only have talked with Cotton about his plans but have got from him certain notions also as to the best form of government to erect. It is quite likely that he took advantage of the opportunity to study the contents of the code "Moses his Judicials," which Cotton had drawn up at the request of the general court in 1636 and presented to that body the October following. We know that a copy of that code was sent by Winthrop to New Haven, probably before 1643. This code was not based upon the Bible, despite its marginal references to the Scriptures, which were added after the code was written, but was, in brief form, an outline of the government and law of the Massachusetts Bay colony, based on the charter, the common law of England, and, in capital cases, the Mosaic code. New Haven as a plantation or town, and even more as a jurisdiction or colony after 1643, followed contemporary models in all its essential

parts, for no system founded on the Old Testament could possibly have proved adequate to meet the needs of a political community in the seventeenth century.

It is very probable that Davenport, Eaton, and others among the leading men of the company had reached some understanding, even before the arrival at Quinnipiac, as to what should be the main features of the political and ecclesiastical edifices they proposed to build. But it was not for a year after they set foot on New Haven soil that they took definite action. Finally, in June, 1639, all the free planters, some seventy in number, gathered according to tradition in a large barn (built by the leading carpenter of the colony, William Andrews, and belonging to Francis Newman) and there began the dual work of establishing "such civill order as might be most pleasing unto God, and for the choosing the fittest man for the foundation work of a church to be gathered." A formal plantation covenant had already been solemnly entered into on "the first day of extraordinary humiliation" which the settlers had appointed after their arrival, and this covenant had sufficed until the time came for the more orderly structure. That time had now come.

Before any definite steps were taken, Davenport raised the fundamental question as to the qualifications of those who might best be entrusted with matters of government and fortified his recommendations with citations from the Old and New Testaments. The motion that all free burgesses should be church members—either of the church in New Haven or of one or other of the approved churches in New England—was not carried without dissent, for after the vote was taken Samuel Eaton arose to object. A discussion ensued but without altering the final decision, which they profoundly believed expressed the mind of God. Hence the rule was

established, similar to that laid down in Massachusetts and embodied in the Cotton code, that church members only should have the right to choose magistrates and officials, to transact public affairs, to make laws, divide inheritances, to decide all differences that might arise, and to do all other things of a like nature.

This having been decided, the church was next organized by the selection of twelve men (actually eleven), who chose seven among themselves, as those most fit for the foundation work, the seven pillars of the structure. These seven pillars, adding to themselves nine more—and later others from time to time, formed a “general court” of the town. This court elected a magistrate and four deputies, whose duties were largely judicial, while the duties of the court itself (a kind of town meeting) were prudential. Theophilus Eaton was the magistrate for the first year and frequently afterward, and it was he who was responsible for the rejection of jury trial in the colony. Davenport was the pastor, but Eaton, headstrong and determined, was in large part the dictator of the settlement until his death in 1658. This was the general form of the government for the first four years, from 1639 to 1643, when, the church system remaining unchanged, there was superimposed upon the town government a larger and more elaborate organization, that of the colony or jurisdiction. The circumstances that led to this enlargement were as follows.

During the years following the close of the Pequot War in 1637, the coast region saw the founding of many new settlements. Connecticut was furthering the plantations at Pequot, Stratford, and Fairfield; and New Haven also, as the Dutch expressed it, was “hiving further out.” A second purchase in 1638 carried the latter’s possessions so far to the east and west as to constitute an area thir-

teen miles in length and ten in width. This would have been ample for a single plantation, but insufficient in Puritan eyes to meet the demand for expansion. All these early Puritan settlements were potentially the mothers of colonies and New Haven was no exception to the rule. Hardly was the work of organization well under way than the "hiving" began. In the autumn of 1639 the Rev. Peter Prudden and his band of faithful followers from Herefordshire, under the guidance of an experienced Indian fighter, Thomas Tibbals of Wethersfield, started westward through the woods to found the town of Milford, ten miles away. Prudden had long desired, as had many a leading Puritan minister of the day, to have a settlement of his own. There is nothing to show that he and his company had ever intended to remain permanently in New Haven, as they had not remained in Boston, or that any dissatisfaction with Davenport was the cause of their removal. They had already, in February, acquired land beyond the New Haven second purchase, and before starting on the new pilgrimage had, as a covenanted church body, chosen their own seven pillars and reaffirmed their own church covenant. On arrival at the site selected, this little company of fifty or more families used their church organization as an adequate civil government and stood for four years as an independent ecclesiastical republic in the wilderness. In nearly all essentials they copied New Haven, but relaxed in some measure the rule regarding church membership, for there were ten men among them sharing in the management of local affairs who were not covenanted Christians. Four of these entered the church before 1643, but six remained outside, suffering thereby no loss of political privileges.

Eastward of New Haven and forming part of the

second purchase was the locality known as Totoket, which in 1640 was allotted to Samuel Eaton for a plantation of his own and of a company that he was expected to gather in England and bring to America. Eaton, who had accompanied his brother and Davenport to New Haven and had lived there as a free burgess and householder for two years, returned to England for the purpose of gathering his company. But satisfied with conditions at home and probably none too well content with what New Haven offered him he never returned, and the proposed plantation at Totoket failed to materialize. Its place was taken later by another settlement, started, as we shall see, by a group of planters from Wethersfield and elsewhere, well hardened and acclimated, who began the plantation and town of Branford in 1644.

Ministerial leadership was a conspicuous factor in the founding of towns in the New Haven colony, as is seen in the settlement of Guilford. Stimulated by the example of Hooker, Cotton, and especially Davenport, the Rev. Henry Whitfield, who was a friend of Hooker's and had given him shelter at his rectory at Ockley in Surrey, finding it impossible, with his growing nonconforming views, to remain longer in England, gathered about him a group of his own family, friends, and parishioners, sold his property in Surrey, and prepared to migrate to America. He was never a separatist, even in the Massachusetts limited sense of the term, and found no difficulty, after his return to England in 1650, in taking up again his duties as a minister of the Church of England. He was intimate with Fenwick, who had gone home the year before and wishing to return joined the Whitfield group for the voyage. In this way Whitfield learned much about the country and was able to obtain from Fenwick permission to locate within the bounds of the territory given

the Puritan lords and gentlemen by the Warwick deed, receiving later a definite grant from Fenwick for the purpose. Fenwick and his wife aided the expedition, sharing the cost of both vessel and supplies. Embarking on a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, the name of which is not known, on May 20, 1639, this company set out for New Haven, on the first transatlantic voyage directly to a harbor on the northern coast of Long Island Sound.

Adopting a plantation covenant during the passage, just as the Pilgrims had done in Plymouth harbor, this noteworthy company, consisting very largely of young men, some unmarried, others with wives, children, and servants, soon left New Haven, as Prudden had done and Samuel Eaton thought of doing, to found an independent plantation of their own. They bought land of the Indians at Menuncatuck, which they found "low, flat and moist, agreeable to their wishes," and there they remained a self-sustaining community and an independent republic for four years. Unlike the people of Milford they erected their church after civil government had been established, and unlike both New Haven and Milford, they confined political privileges not only to church members but to the members of their own particular church, thus creating the narrowest political franchise to be found anywhere in New England. This limitation of privilege was somewhat eased by a willingness to allow the nonfreemen or "planters," as was done in both Massachusetts and New Haven, to take part in town meetings but not to vote for town officials. Their pastor was the same John Higginson who had been Lady Fenwick's chaplain at Saybrook. In their organization of government and in their management of town affairs they followed very closely the New Haven model.

Two other plantations were started the following year.

It happened that Captain Nathaniel Turner, in the summer of 1640, acting on behalf of the planters of New Haven, had purchased a section of land lying to the west along the coast beyond Fairfield at a place called Toquams or Rippowams, extending sixteen miles inland and eight miles from east to west. It lay some thirty miles from the Quinnipiac settlement. In the same year, owing to ministerial difficulties in the town of Wethersfield, a group of men there made up their minds to find a home elsewhere. At their head was the Rev. Richard Denton, one of the contentious clergymen, who had come from Halifax, England, and located in Wethersfield in 1638, and among its members were Matthew Mitchell, Andrew Ward, Richard Coe, and Richard Gildersleeve, the last named of whom had got into trouble with the Connecticut authorities for casting out "pernitious speeches, tending to the detriment and dishonour" of the commonwealth. The company having determined to remove found it difficult to decide where to go and listened willingly to overtures made by Davenport (who had already endeavored to bring peace to the Wethersfield church) that they should occupy the newly acquired territory. In the agreement finally made with New Haven the Wethersfield men bound themselves to reimburse that plantation for what it had already spent, to acknowledge the authority of the New Haven government, and to accept the system there established both in principle and form. Thus was brought into existence the plantation and town of Stamford, never a completely independent community, for it was always subordinate to New Haven, from the first sending deputies to the general or town court and accepting such of their own number as magistrates and constables as that court saw fit to select.

The last of the towns settled before 1643 was Southold, at the eastern end of Long Island, facing the Sound. In 1640 New Haven, always on the watch for opportunities to extend her territory, purchased the Yennicock region, where Southold was afterward located, of James Forret, agent of the Earl of Stirling, who had received Long Island by grant from the Council for New England. As far as we know the grant was never confirmed by the crown. There New Haven established a small company of men, women, and children, led by the Rev. John Youngs, which had come to New Haven from England in the *St. John of London* the same year. She retained title to the soil until in 1649 the Southold people cleared off their indebtedness and received the territory in their own right. They were somewhat more independent than were the people of Stamford, largely because of the distance, but they followed the New Haven way in all particulars, and in 1642 recognized New Haven's right to appoint their constable, until some further course should be taken "to settle a magistracy there according to God."

Totoket or Branford, which Samuel Eaton had promised to make the seat of a new plantation, did not become a part of the New Haven jurisdiction until after 1643. Because the region was being encroached upon by unauthorized squatters, New Haven, who owned it, extended an invitation to some Wethersfield people to occupy it, provided they paid the cost of the purchase, joined in one jurisdiction with New Haven, and accepted the fundamental agreements upon which that jurisdiction was based. The bargain was completed in 1643 and settlement was effected the next year. Shortly afterward the group from Wethersfield was joined by Abraham Pierson and others from Southampton, Long Island, and the place was called Branford, a popular corruption of Brent-

ford, a London suburb on the Thames River opposite Kew. The plantation was slow in getting started, for there appears to have been no formally organized church there until after 1650. Permanent town government must have come into being soon after, but it was not until 1653 that deputies appeared in the general court of the jurisdiction.

Thus did New Haven "hive further out." The town had brought under its control Stamford, Southold, and later Branford. In its immediate neighborhood were Milford and Guilford, two independent self-governing communities, each of which had been settled under New Haven's auspices and was in sympathy with the principles governing her method of rule. All remained as they were, six separate plantations, with New Haven the center and most important member of the entire cluster, until in 1643 a situation arose that called for further action. In that year was formed the New England Confederation, a combination of jurisdictions, not of plantations, to which New Haven was admitted because she was able to bring with her two subordinate settlements, over which she was able to exercise a measure of control. Before 1643 New Haven was a town, with a town organization and government, but after that date she became a jurisdiction, a colony, because she was exercising somewhat hesitatingly but effectively, an influence that extended from eastern Long Island to the region where the Dutch and Swedes were already building forts on the Delaware or Great South River. As the New England Confederation did not admit independent plantations, such as were Southampton, Milford, and Guilford, it became necessary for their own protection that these towns yield some part of their independence and combine with an already established jurisdiction. For this

reason Southampton joined Connecticut, and Milford and Guilford joined New Haven—Guilford on July 6, 1643, and Milford the following October.

Thus within the short space of five years, the town of New Haven had become the jurisdiction of New Haven, and the bounds of the colony had been expanded from the eastern line of Guilford to the western boundary of Milford and thence, leaping over the intervening Connecticut towns of Stratford, Fairfield, and Norwalk, to the western line of Greenwich, which by agreement with the Dutch in 1650 had become a part of the town of Stamford. The northern boundary was never exactly drawn but it ran some ten or fifteen miles from the coast except at Paugasset, the modern Derby. Though the jurisdiction made efforts to extend its authority to Long Island and hoped that the settlements of Oyster Bay and Huntington, which had been established under New Haven's guidance, would come into the fold, it never succeeded in obtaining a footing there except at Southold. Southampton, Easthampton, Oyster Bay, and Huntington all eventually threw in their lot with Connecticut, to New Haven's dismay.

This transformation from a single town into a colony and from a group of towns into a federation demanded a reshaping of the machinery of government and the superimposing of a colony jurisdiction upon the separate organizations set up by the towns. In New Haven itself until 1643 the officials were a magistrate and four deputies and the "general courts" were in all essentials the equivalent of town meetings. All the householders or free planters were present at these meetings, but only those who were church members, had been admitted by the court as free burgesses, and had taken the freeman's charge could vote. As New Haven acquired additional

territory and new towns such as Stamford and Southold came into existence, these dependent communities were given representation in the "general court" of the town, a kind of hybrid arrangement that was halfway between the organization of a town and that of a colony. Not until October 23, 1643, after the admission of Guilford and Milford, was the first step taken toward the formal fashioning of a large federative system, by the drawing up of a fundamental agreement or frame of government for the entire jurisdiction. On the 26th a governor and deputy governor, secretary and marshal were elected for the jurisdiction and magistrates for New Haven, Milford, and Stamford. On the 27th a regular general court was held for all the towns. This court, which was the court of the jurisdiction and consisted of the governor, deputy governor, and two deputies each from New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, concerned itself entirely with colony, not town, business. The fundamentals or frame of government of the jurisdiction followed closely the Massachusetts model as set down in the Cotton code. From this time forward town government and colony government were distinct and the records of the latter were kept in separate books. Unfortunately the volume carrying the entries to 1653 has disappeared, but its successor still exists and is the second volume of the printed records covering the years from 1653 to 1665.

The New Haven jurisdiction was a loose confederation of towns, scattered and lacking in unity, held together by a general court, each member of which took an oath of fidelity, while the church members in the towns took both an oath of fidelity and the freeman's charge. The general court sat as a single house, without a speaker, and passed orders or laws, some new, others amendments or additions to the Code of 1656. These laws were read

in the local town meetings and all the inhabitants, church members, free planters, and others were expected to obey them. Even if one could not read he was required to know and remember the law when read in his hearing. The court did a certain amount of judicial work, but justice, generally on appeal, was handled by the court of magistrates, which was heavily burdened with the duty of ferreting out cases of misconduct and which also dealt with admiralty and probate business. New Haven was unique among the New England colonies in refusing to allow trial by jury in the courts of either the town or the colony.

This was the simple form of civil and judicial organization that prevailed in the New Haven colony until its submission to Connecticut in 1665. But that this arrangement was not expected to be permanent, had the Delaware venture succeeded, is evident from the statement made in 1654 that "when God shall so inlarge the English plantation in Delaware as that they shall grow the greater part of the jurisdiction . . . then due consideration shall be taken for ease and conveniency of both parties, as that the governor may be one yeare in one part and the next year in another and that the deputy governor be in that part where the governor is not, and that generall courts for the makeing lawes may be ordinarily but once a year [instead of twice as in the jurisdiction], and where the governor resides; and if God much increase plantations in Delaware and diminish them in those parts, then possibly they may see cause that the governor may be constantly there and the deputie governor here, but that the lesser part of the jurisdiction be protected and eased by the greater part in rates and otherwise." But God did not enlarge the New Haven plantation on the Delaware, and this dream of a larger New

Haven jurisdiction was never fulfilled. To the colony's interests on the Delaware we must now turn our attention.

Those who founded the plantation of New Haven in 1638 had before them the vision of an expanding commercial enterprise, which should utilize the shores of Long Island Sound, Long Island itself, and the region of the Delaware as the sphere of its energies. But they reckoned without any adequate knowledge of the obstacles that lay in their path. At no time were they able to occupy even a tenth of the world of their ambition. Almost from the start they were hedged in by the growing Connecticut commonwealth, which early took advantage of the victory over the Pequots to establish settlements along the coast. They could not expand eastwardly beyond Guilford because Saybrook blocked the way. They were prevented from controlling Long Island by the unsympathetic attitude of the eastern and central towns already there, from Easthampton to Oyster Bay, and by the activities of Colonel John Scott who apparently was planning to set up at the western end, under himself as promoter and head, some sort of an independent government with its center at Hempstead. On the Delaware the Swedes first and the Dutch afterward were in possession and were disputing the attempts of all others to intrude upon the region. Both were working under trading companies which were organized at home for promoting trade in the New World and were sending over ships and men to found posts and factories for traffic with the Indians. The Dutch, first in the field (the Dutch West India Company was chartered in 1621), had built a fort on the southern point of Manhattan island, another, Fort Orange, up the Hudson, and a third, Fort Nassau, on the Delaware near the mouth of Little Timber Creek. The last named was early abandoned, so that when in 1637 the

New Sweden Company was chartered and two vessels under Peter Minuit, with a company of colonists, were dispatched across the ocean they found the banks of the river unoccupied and laid claim to the territory in the name of the company. On Christina Creek (modern Wilmington) Minuit erected a fort, Christina, named after the reigning queen, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. Under Johan Printz an aggressive policy was adopted, new forts were built, and the region was claimed from the upper end of the bay to the Delaware Water Gap. The Dutch returning to the river established trading houses, bouweries, and plantations at various points and disputed the Swedish claim. The contest between the two lasted for eighteen years, until in 1655 the Dutch ousted the Swedes by force and retained possession until they in turn were driven out by the English in 1664.

But in 1640 the Swedes and Dutch had hardly got more than a foothold in the territory; consequently the Davenport company, which had probably heard of the country during their own residence in Boston, determined to see what the place was like. "Some particular persons at their own charge," with the approval of the town, organized a "Delaware Company" and sent an expedition, under Captain George Lamberton and Captain Nathaniel Turner, to explore the river. With the consent of the Swedes they occupied land on the east side of the river, at Varkinskill or Salem Creek, intending to set up a plantation "for the advancement of the public good as in a way of trade, also for the settling of churches and plantations in those parts in combination with New Haven." The area of occupation was widened by a further purchase of land from the Indians at the mouth of the Schuylkill, nearly opposite Fort Nassau and the beginning of a fortification there. The Dutch, aroused by the

menace of an English invasion, sent an expedition, seized Lamberton and others, and destroyed the fort, and it was only after an imprisonment at New Amsterdam that the prisoners were sent back to New Haven. Though the settlement at Varkinskill was unmolested, its occupants, consisting of some twenty families, suffered so much from sickness and death that in 1643 most of them gave up the enterprise and returned to New Haven. A few, however, remained and Lamberton himself went back to trade with the Indians along the river, trafficking, as the Swedes claimed, under the very shadow of Fort Christina. Governor Printz, remarking that the English were "evil neighbors," called a halt to Lamberton's activities, and instituted a court inquiry into the circumstances. The court decided against the English claim and against Lamberton's right to trade, and the latter went back to New Haven filled with indignation at the treatment he had received. The matter was brought to the attention of the newly formed New England Confederation and was, in part at least, responsible for its formation in that year. At the first meeting of the confederation the issue came up for consideration and after debate Governor Winthrop was instructed to write to Printz demanding satisfaction. Printz reopened the case, and at an examination of witnesses in January, 1644, obtained a complete exoneration. Amicable relations were restored and when Governor Eaton and the Delaware Company obtained from the confederation a commission authorizing Captain Turner to revive the plantation and to continue trading in the Delaware Bay and River, Printz promised to recognize it. But as far as we know no further colonization was attempted at this time.

With the growth of the town and the expansion of the jurisdiction of New Haven after 1643, interest in the

Delaware region was revived. Eaton wrote to Stuyvesant protesting against the duties levied at New Amsterdam upon goods imported into New Netherland and demanding freedom for the English trading at Manhattan and their right to pass the Dutch town, without interference, on their way to and from the Delaware and points south. He also reasserted New Haven's claim to lands purchased on the river. Stuyvesant had already written both to Governor Bradford of Plymouth and to Governor Endecott of Massachusetts—who had succeeded Winthrop in 1647—saying that the Dutch had a "lawful right" to all the territory and would maintain it by force if necessary. Naturally, therefore, he answered Eaton to the same effect. Though the New England Confederation refused to have any part in the undertaking, it informed the New Haven leaders that they could "dispose, improve or plant the land they have purchased . . . as they shall see cause." New Haven construed this as permission to go ahead, and at a town meeting, March, 1651, on the ground that the town was overcrowded, decided to continue the Delaware project "for the good of posteritie." Before formal action was taken by the town various private efforts were made. Lieutenant Seely of Pequot War fame, carrying the commission of 1644, attempted to go down the Sound and through the East River to the Delaware, but was stopped by Stuyvesant and imprisoned. When others tried to do the same Stuyvesant threatened "force of arms and martial opposition even to bloodshed" against them unless they desisted from their undertakings.

The danger seemed so much greater than the expected profit from the venture that for the moment Stuyvesant's threat was heeded, but the pressure of those wishing to go was too strong to be resisted and on November 2,

1654, the business was again agitated. Still fearful of trouble the New Haveners postponed the decision until the 27th. Some said they would go if Davenport would go with them, but he declined on the ground of health. Eaton gave an evasive answer. His son, Samuel, and Francis Newman, two of the magistrates of the jurisdiction, were willing to take the matter into consideration. Despite this want of alacrity, the feeling prevailed that enough had been done by the town to bring the proposal to the attention of the jurisdiction, and at a general court, January 30, 1655, the town asked that the court "afford some incouragement to help forward so publique a work" for "the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ, the spreading of the Gospel, and the good of posteritie therin, that they may live under the wings of Christ." Though the court took no definite action, the plan was debated at a town meeting, April 8, 1655, at which time the authorities made it perfectly clear that if a plantation were settled on the Delaware it would have to be based "on the same foundations of government as were at first laid in New Haven" and to remain "a part or member of this jurisdiction."

The Delaware project of 1654-1655 was quite different from the earlier effort, which had trade rather than settlement as its object. At that time a few venturesome sea captains and migrating families were concerned, now a group of men and women, not only from New Haven but from other towns as well and even from Massachusetts and Connecticut, were proposing to go as a body and set up a permanent home on the Delaware River. The movement was watched with considerable interest by many outside the New Haven boundaries, for it was an early phase of that expansionist urge which had sent Hooker to Connecticut, Davenport to New Haven, Prudden to Mil-

ford, Denton to Stamford, Whitfield to Guilford, and was to send Russell to Hadley, and Fitch to Norwich. The fact that Davenport, the pastor, and Hooke, the teacher, were both invited to lead the company and that Samuel Eaton and Francis Newman consented to take part as magistrates shows that the migrating group was to be an organized company, with ecclesiastical and judicial unity. Furthermore, it was to become a small edition of New Haven both as town and church. But in the end nothing whatever came of the effort, though New Haven did not relinquish her claim to the territory, even after she ceased to be an independent colony.

At the outset New Haven was possessed of considerable wealth, a fact upon which contemporary writers are all agreed. Edward Johnson, writing before 1653 in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, said that "many of [the settlers were] well experienced in traffique and had good estates to manage it" and Hubbard, less than half a century later, wrote of them as "Merchants of Considerable estates and dealing in the world [who] propounded to themselves the setting up a place of trade for which they were most fitted." Some of the town's leading men had had mercantile careers in London and had accumulated a certain amount of capital, which they either brought with them in the shape of goods rather than money or left in England in the form of landed possessions from which they received financial returns. The drain upon this capital must have been heavy during the first few years in the history of the settlement. The hire of the ship, the preliminary outfitting in goods and equipment, the living during the winter in Boston, the purchase of the lands from the Indians, and the expenditure, as they themselves said, of "great estates in buildings, fencings, clearing the ground, and in all

sorts of husbandry" must have eaten up an appreciable part of the resources brought with them. Also, the early Delaware venture, which cost the undertakers £1,000; the loss of the great ship, which was sent to England in 1646 but foundered at sea; the wasteful expenditures on the ironworks located between New Haven and Branford—all these enterprises called for heavy disbursements without any corresponding returns either of principal or profit. All the ambitious plans of the leaders had come to naught during the first fifteen years in the history of the colony and the Delaware failure was the final blow. William Hooke wrote to Cromwell in 1653 in the following disconsolate vein, "Trade is obstructed, commodities (especially cloathing) very scanty; great discouragements upon the most, if not all; many still looking toward Ireland . . . and a continual dropping away there from us, and fears of great dissolutions and desertions . . . our cure is desperate, if the Dutch be not removed . . . so that we and our posterity (now almost prepared to swarme forth plenteously) are confined and straitened, the sea lying before us and a rocky rude desert, unfitt for culture and destitute of commodity, behind our backs, all convenient places for accommodations on the sea coast already possessed and planted."

It was during this period of depression that Cromwell endeavored to persuade the people of the colony to migrate first to Ireland—an effort that was at an end before 1654—and then to Hispaniola or Mexico, both of which Spanish possessions he expected to take in the famous expedition under Penn and Venables. But the New Haveners, though some of them considered Ireland favorably, finally refused to go, just as later they refused to go to Jamaica after the seizure of that island in 1655. They were willing to go to the Delaware but nowhere

else, and they wanted war with the Dutch, in the hope that by this means the latter would be removed from New Amsterdam and the Delaware, and the way opened to a westward enlargement. They were much cast down when Massachusetts refused in 1654 to coöperate in such a war (possibly because Massachusetts found profit in the Dutch trade), and made a number of direct appeals to Cromwell, until peace with Holland stopped all further perseverance in that direction. "The apprehension of such a thing as being removed thither [to the West Indies or the Spanish Main], or of a trade, doth for the present stop and stay many in these parts," wrote John Higginson in 1654, and it is quite clear that the New Englanders had little sympathy with Cromwell's plan of driving out the Spaniard and making room in the conquered territory for such of them as would go there. New Haven wanted only the Delaware but the leaders of the colony were already beginning to grasp the unwelcome fact that as long as the Dutch remained in New Netherland the erection of a larger jurisdiction on a commercial and trading basis was impossible. They may even have begun to realize that the resources of the colony, already depleted, would not stand the strain of further enterprise along mercantile lines. After 1650, movements Delawareward were in the interest of colonization rather than of trade.

Nevertheless, to a limited extent trade flourished in the colony, as must inevitably have been the case among a people living in towns on the shores of Long Island Sound, with harbors that were available for shipping and with leaders who had been merchants at home and were more familiar with mercantile transactions than with agriculture. But progress could not be maintained. The loss of Lamberton, Turner, and Gregson, all of whom

with nearly seventy others went down with the "phantom ship" on its voyage across the Atlantic, was a terrible blow to the infant colony for it removed three able men, who, had they lived, might not have given up easily the plans of the founders. No one appeared to take their places. Allerton and Goodyear were not successful businessmen in the later days of the colony. Prudden, Eaton, and Newman died, and Whitfield, Samuel Eaton, Hooke, Desborough, and others returned to the old country. Though a tide of immigration set in for a short time after 1660 and the numbers in the colony increased, very few of the second generation equaled the founders as leaders either in politics or in trade.

None of the towns of the jurisdiction ever became important shipbuilding or ship-using communities, but all of them had trading interests and in some of them were individuals, who as sea captains and mariners, came into contact with the wider world of the north Atlantic basin. Canoes, skiffs, shallops, and lighters or floats were early in use for purposes of local communication and transportation, and pinnaces, ketches, barks, and sloops of more than fifteen tons engaged in distant traffic. They crossed to Long Island, coasted along the north shore as far as New Amsterdam and the Delaware on the west, and Rhode Island and Massachusetts Bay on the east, and even went on to Newfoundland, Virginia, and Barbados. Yet the number of vessels in service cannot have been large, and most of those of any size must have come from outside the colony, either Dutch- or English-built. How early the colonists constructed their own boats it is difficult to say, for the building of any ship is not certainly recorded before 1645. That small craft were fabricated before that date is attested by the presence of ship carpenters, who may have been employed in house con-

struction also and have done boatbuilding as need arose. Private wharves and warehouses appear as conveniences for landing and storing—the wharves for the small craft of their owners or for the landing boats of larger vessels from Massachusetts, New Amsterdam, Virginia, Barbados, and England lying in the harbor. These outside vessels brought manufactured goods, hardware, canvas, rum, sugar, cotton, salt, tobacco, and wines, while the New Haven towns shipped provisions, cattle, horses, and a variety of sundries, though a surplus of such staples was always limited, and in times of scarcity, as in 1653, foodstuffs were placed under embargo. The one effort that was made to open up a direct trade with England was a disastrous failure, for the vessel, perhaps the first large boat built in New Haven, promoted by Theophilus Eaton, Goodyear, Malbone, and Gregson in 1645, commanded by Captain Lamberton, and laden with an elaborate cargo, foundered at sea and was never heard of again. All the ventures, running from £50 to £80, which were put into this, the “phantom ship,” and into the *Fellowship* of 1647 (another New Haven venture) were either lost entirely or were greatly depreciated in value.

That the promotion of trade during the first twenty years had not met the expectations of the merchants concerned is evident from Davenport’s remarks made in 1659 and 1662. Speaking in town meeting on the question of granting East Side (Fair Haven) and South End (East Haven) the status of villages he said that “if the town did not consider of some way to further trade, how would they subsist he saw not.” In 1662 he said further that unless the town could do something “to bring shipping yearly from England . . . and so rayse manufacture” its inhabitants could not long subsist. He wished by making liberal grants of land to encourage merchants from

other colonies or England to come to New Haven for the encouragement of trade. The effort was not successful, as but one merchant, Samuel Bache of Boston, came to New Haven and set up a warehouse, and that too not until after 1665, when New Haven gave in its submission to Connecticut.

The simple truth is that despite the ambitions of the founders, the towns of the New Haven jurisdiction never were more than small agricultural communities in a region that was not well adapted for agricultural purposes. Their layout and the methods followed in the distribution of their lands differed only in detail from those of other New England plantations and the life of the great majority of the people was closely and intimately connected with the soil. In order of size New Haven came first, followed by Milford, Guilford, Stamford, Southold, and Branford, with two dependent communities, Paugasset (Derby) and Hashamamock (near Southold). The people inhabiting these plantations were mainly English, with a few Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Scotsmen, Negroes, and Indians, the last named of whom in New Haven lived on the east side across the Quinnipiac River. In status these inhabitants were freemen or church members, free planters, indentured servants, and apprentices, and in vocation, merchants, mariners, farmers, artisans, and hired laborers. There was also a transient element among them, not much wanted but very much needed, made up of wanderers from other colonies and seamen brought in by the ships frequenting the harbors, a roistering, rowdy lot that made New Haven as well as Massachusetts a great deal of trouble.

All these people were carefully watched over by the local town meetings which kept a vigilant eye on the affairs of their respective communities. They looked after

fences, cattle, swine, sheep, and horses, doing something but not much for fences and highways, and endeavoring, with considerable effort and frequent prodding, to build and repair bridges, of which there were many. They provided, with difficulty because of frequent neglect, for ward by day and watch by night, guarding against fires within and attacks from without. To protect themselves further against fires they required householders to keep ladders at hand and to have their chimneys frequently swept, the chimney sweeps to wear canvas frocks and hoods. They regulated the cutting of timber for building and firewood, and frequently complained of the "stinking and noxious weeds"—henbane, nightshade, and poke-weed—that grew along the roadsides and in the fields. Each town had its trainband, though training was none too popular, worked out with discrimination exemptions from the service, and struggled with the disorders that regularly arose on training day. There was a view of arms four times a year and a training at least six times and oftener if necessary.

While agriculture and its incidents occupied a large part of the time and attention of the people in the various towns, industry remained in a very primitive state. There were gristmills everywhere, but no sawmills, sawing being done in the simple way of a saw pit. The gristmill in New Haven—an overshot affair—was a subject of endless concern, both as to maintenance and supply of water, and when it was burned down in 1662, the proposal was made to change its construction to that of a windmill and horsemill, such as was known to exist at Easthampton. There were a number of tanneries or tanyards, but at best leather was poorly prepared, shoes were insufficient in supply, inexact as to sizes, and badly made, and both tanners and shoemakers came in for con-

siderable abuse. Probably much of the artisan work of bakers, hatters, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, ropemakers, wheelwrights, dishturners, and the like was done at the houses or barns of the workmen or in shops on the premises. The bakers were often charged with underweight loaves and so serious had this offense become that an assize of bread was inserted in the Code of 1656. This was the London assize, which New Haven adopted, just as she adopted the London assize of hogsheads, Winchester measures of dry and liquid volume, avoirdupois weight, and the London steelyard. There were shops also in private houses and there were stores where a variety of goods was sold, such as could not be produced at home and had to be brought from abroad. Liquor was available at the ordinaries and in limited quantities at private houses, and the licensing problem was one of periodic perplexity. Manufacturing activities were of necessity infrequent because of the scarcity of raw material. The only manufacturing industry known to the colony was that of the ironworks at East Haven, though we hear of a promise of steelmaking emanating from Southold in 1655.

Business transactions of every kind must have been greatly hampered by the want of a convenient and flexible medium of exchange. Hard money, whether in the form of English shillings, Dutch guilders, or Spanish pieces of eight, was always scarce, though there must have been a certain amount brought in by ships from England or gained in traffic with New Amsterdam and Barbados. There is no mention of silver in the records of the colony until 1651 when contributors to the church funds were urged to pay in silver or bills because the wampum was so bad that "the officers who receive it can make litle of it," and until 1654 when the widow Wiggles-

worth loaned the commissioners going to Boston five pounds. Even after these dates we come on very few instances of its use. In the early years black and white wampum was almost the sole medium, particularly in private transactions, until it became so poor in quality that it would not pass current and so much of a drug in the market as to lose much of its value, despite the efforts of the general court to stabilize it. Barter and payments in kind became increasingly common—corn and other grains, cattle, wool, pease, beef, pork, bread or “biskit,” and even brass and iron passed at local prices fixed by the Boston traders. Rates, taxes, and imposts were met by “good currant country paye at cuntry price” determined by the authorities. In 1657 Winthrop paid for his house £100 in goats from Fishers Island, the town to send a ship to carry the “cash” to New Haven.

But while land, fences, debts, and prudential affairs generally were matters of concern to the town fathers, manners and morals, having to do with the peace of the community and the problem of sin, weighed most heavily on their minds. Drunkenness and sexual misdemeanors were “horrible miscarriages,” for which those guilty were held accountable before God as well as the courts, and they were inquired into with a minuteness of scrutiny that has made it necessary, in the case of sexual misdeeds, for the editors of the town and colony records to omit from the printed pages several portions of the original text. Such offenses were bad enough when committed by a nonfreeman, but when a church member was involved, whether in fornication or drunkenness or in disrespect toward an assembly where “the holy God and the holy Angells were present,” the act was construed as scandalous and the offender was reprimanded by bell, book, and candle. The ultimate end of justice was the

reformation of man and the averting of the wrath of God, and its immediate purpose the preservation of peace and righteousness, the prevention of disorder, and the settlement of differences among neighbors. The attainment of such results was worthy of the utmost vigilance. Many lesser indulgencies, such as cardplaying, dancing, and singing, were frowned on and in part at least forbidden, because they tended to the corruption of the youth and the "mispense of precious time," but they were enjoyed on the sly by those who had known the merry life of old England and were repelled by the cheerless atmosphere of the Puritan colony. Smoking was allowed but not in public, and one man who was found "taking tobacco" near the meetinghouse was promptly fined. A large number of the sinners were servants and seamen: the former always an unmanageable lot, generally in some sort of mess, thieving, cursing, swearing, drinking, and quarreling, and guilty, a few of them certainly, of bestiality and other abominable crimes; the latter given to intoxication, disorder, and profanation of the Sabbath. The laws were vigorously enforced and numbers of persons were executed for adultery, witchcraft, and deeds of "unspeakable filthiness." Occasionally one or another would be banished for good and sufficient cause from the jurisdiction while those guilty of ordinary misdemeanors would be punished by stocks, pillories, fines, whipping, imprisonment (where they were "kept to a prison diet"), and by such humiliating public penances as the wearing of a halter for a given length of time.

On the cultural side education alone received attention. Davenport very early expressed his interest in a school and a college and wanted to gather books for the use of the ministry and the town. In 1641 it was proposed

to set up a free school, the cost of which was to be met out of the common stock of the town. This was done, a schoolhouse was built, and a schoolmaster engaged. But the experiment languished. The ambitious programme for the teaching of English, writing, and especially Latin dwindled to a course of spelling and reading; the number of pupils fell as low as six or eight and then five and six; and the results were not commensurate with the trouble. In 1660 it was proposed to erect a "Colony School," and at first the plan seems to have been to set up feeding schools in each of the plantations, but this was soon seen to be beyond the resources of the colony. Then it was decided to create only a single "Colony School or College," for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and to locate it at New Haven. For this purpose Edward Hopkins made his famous bequest of part of his estate in New England, from which in time was to arise the Hopkins grammar schools of Hartford and New Haven, "for the service of god in Church and Commonwealth," the whole amounting to £1,000, four hundred of which was to go to Hartford. But as events were to prove, the Hopkins bequest was diverted from its original object and a collegiate school was not to appear until the next century, then to bear the name not of Davenport but of Elihu Yale. The suggestion made in 1664 that a library building be erected for the "many books belonging to the town" was never carried out. The books were probably those left by Samuel Eaton in 1656 "for the use of a college," but which reverted to the town on the failure of that project. It constituted what may be called "the first public library in New Haven."

On the architectural side we have little reliable information regarding the buildings in which the householders lived, beyond the contemporary statement that many

of the merchants' houses were pretentious. The meeting-house on the green in New Haven was fifty feet square, with a tower and a turret, and casement windows with glass panes. It was in constant need of repair and its various vicissitudes find frequent reference in the records. It had a platform, with rails and banisters, built upon its roof in 1653, for "one to stand upon to make discovery of danger that might be neere," and within were the seats, a large gallery with a little gallery adjoining, and a high pulpit with stairs. Built in 1640 it began to show signs of decay by the end of the decade and by 1657 was called very defective—groundsills and timbers, ceiling, tower and turret, doors and windows needing constant attention. Nothing was done beyond repairs until 1670 when a new structure was put up. Upon its door, as was the custom with the parish churches of England, all public notices were posted—for the town as yet had no sign-post, and near by in the market place stood the drummer to summon the inhabitants to meeting on lecture days, days of humiliation and thanksgiving, and the Sabbath.

Until 1660 the position of the town and jurisdiction of New Haven was strong despite its economic weakness and legal insecurity, though its inhabitants were not all living in perfect harmony. There had been murmurings as early as 1653 and 1654, at the time of the threatened war with the Dutch. Inhabitants of Stamford, Southold, and Milford voiced their discontent with the form of government under which they lived, demanding an extension of the suffrage, the admission of English law, and the right of appeal to England. Robert Basset in the Stamford town meeting declared that he would obey no authority except such as came out of England, and he and others dubbed the jurisdiction a tyrannical govern-

ment, under which no justice could be obtained. The ringleaders at different times were haled before the general court of the jurisdiction and charged not only with disturbing the peace of their respective towns but also with words and carriage against the colony at large. They were accused of attempting to undermine, overthrow, and alter the foundations of authority, to turn things "upsidowne" in church and commonwealth, and to stir up rebellion, thus breaking their oaths of fidelity. All were reprimanded in language that was severe unto righteousness—the language of the pulpit—and were heavily fined and put under bonds to answer before the court of magistrates. All submitted and acknowledged their sin and the trouble was over.

The general court took advantage of the opportunity to see that all the people in the jurisdiction were bound by oaths of fidelity and that the deputies from the towns to the general court of the jurisdiction took a special oath to "doe Equall right and Justice in all cases" that came before them, using their "best skill and knowledge according to the wholesome laws here established." Thus did they hope to make the colony watertight against further disaffection, and for the moment they succeeded, though financial conditions did not improve, and efforts to expand the area of the jurisdiction by the inclusion of Southampton, Huntington, and Oyster Bay ended in failure. New Haven's dream of a colony that should embrace Long Island within its limits went the way of its dream of a commercial center and capital on the banks of the Delaware. By the year 1660 the jurisdiction was probably already on the downward grade—less ably manned, less economically prosperous, and less united in the fundamentals of religion and government than it had been in the period immediately following the

reorganization of 1643. It was badly prepared to meet the crisis which now arose.

In 1660 Charles II returned to the throne of England. Davenport refused to believe the report of this when it was brought to his attention and could only exclaim, when he could no longer doubt its truth, "Our comfort is, that the Lord reigneth and his counsels shall stand." With apprehension and dismay he heard of the execution of such old friends as Peter and Vane, of the deaths in the Tower of Pennington and Rowe, and of the persecution and flight of his former colleague in the church at New Haven, William Hooke. He viewed with alarm the new migration which now took place from England, bringing to the colony not only many who echoed Hooke's remark, "I know not what will become of us, We are at our wit's end," but others also such as the regicides Edward Whalley, Hooke's brother-in-law, and William Goffe, who had been exempted from the act of amnesty passed by parliament in 1660. The flight of these men to America was followed by orders from England for their apprehension brought over by agents instructed to ferret out the fugitives. In consequence the New England Puritan colonies were placed in the embarrassing situation of either repudiating their former friends or disobeying the royal command. Massachusetts with a somewhat unexpected but shrewd display of wisdom, declared her abhorrence of all who would aid those "convicted of having a hand in the execrable murder of the late king" and ordered the arrest of the two men. The latter left the Bay hurriedly and passing through Connecticut went directly to New Haven, where Davenport, with more conscientiousness but less wisdom, was ready to receive them. Though the royal agents, Kellond and Kirke, warned Governor Leete that in protecting the

“two traitors they would do themselves injury and possibly ruin themselves and the whole colony,” New Haven and Milford harbored the regicides and in so doing hampered the agents in their efforts to find them.

All the New England colonies, after some delay, recognized Charles II as king of England, but only Massachusetts, New Haven, and Rhode Island formally proclaimed him in a public demonstration. The other two, Connecticut and Plymouth, contented themselves with votes of acknowledgement only, perhaps for the reason that no order to make a public proclamation was ever sent over by the Privy Council. But all of them felt the imperative necessity of taking advantage of the royal amnesty issued from Breda and of soliciting the king's favor, each in its own behalf. Massachusetts had many charges lodged against her, for her enemies rose up in this emergency to call her contumacious and perverse, and she in particular needed to act promptly. She sent over Simon Bradstreet and John Norton, with an address written by Governor Endecott. It was couched in characteristic Puritan language and in a spirit of unctious humility that would certainly have amazed Charles II, had he ever read it, as undoubtedly he never did. Connecticut followed suit, sending John Winthrop, Jr., to plead her cause, but New Haven, who perhaps more than any of the others had reason to fear the weight of the king's displeasure, was in no position to follow the lead of her sister colonies. She was too poor to meet the expense of an agency and not sufficiently sure of her own record to approach the throne with a petition for royal privileges. Therefore, she first turned to Massachusetts, explaining her delay in proclaiming the king and asking that Massachusetts would present her case to the crown. She suggested the appointment of a common agent,

offering to bear a part of the expense. We do not know the Massachusetts answer, but it was probably unfavorable. Then Governor Leete turned to Connecticut with the proposal that Winthrop should say a good word for her in England and obtain, if he could, a single patent that would cover both jurisdictions and contain for New Haven a grant of land "beyond Delaware." In this way she hoped to gain what she had been unable to obtain for herself, that is, a foothold on the Delaware, and to throw upon the mother country the burden of ousting the Swedes and Dutch from their possessions on the river. Unfortunately Winthrop had already sailed in July and Governor Leete could do no more than send the letter to Boston to be forwarded to Winthrop in England. It is doubtful if the latter ever received it.

The Connecticut authorities had already instructed Winthrop to ask for a grant of territory that should extend from the Massachusetts and Plymouth boundaries to "the Delaware River South," thus completely ignoring the claims of Rhode Island on one side and of the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Whether also at this time they were deliberately planning the extinction of the independent jurisdiction of New Haven cannot be said, but at any rate it is strange that in neither of the instructions to Winthrop (for there were two) is there any mention whatever of New Haven, though the boundaries asked for included the territory of this friendly and autonomous Puritan state, Connecticut's fellow member in the New England Confederation. Whatever else can we think but that as early as 1661 Connecticut had determined to absorb New Haven if she could? In her letter to the Earl of Manchester she speaks only of her own need of a patent to strengthen herself "against such as may oppose or p^rsent interests in civil policy,"

and in all the negotiations that were carried on in England, as far as they have been recorded, neither she nor Massachusetts said anything about New Haven's claims. Winthrop, petitioning on Connecticut's behalf, asked for a patent for Connecticut only and for the territory bounded "on the south by the ocean." Why was New Haven so entirely ignored? Were her people "such despised ones," as Leete meekly called them, that they were beyond the consideration of their neighbors, or were they out of sight and consequently out of mind because unrepresented by an agent of their own at Whitehall? These questions can never be satisfactorily answered, but it is a suggestive fact that of the four colonies that were charterless in 1660, the two that got no charters were those that were too poor to send agents to England. This may be a sufficient explanation, but the suspicion will always be latent that Connecticut had made up her mind to adopt an aggressive policy from the start and to emulate Massachusetts not only in obtaining like privileges and liberties but also in adding to her territory at the expense of her nearest neighbor. Massachusetts was extending her jurisdiction to the north, why might not Connecticut extend hers to the southward as well, as far as she could?

From the beginning New Haven's position was hopeless. As news of the Restoration came to the malcontents in the towns of the jurisdiction, opposition once more became vocal. One Francis Browne uttered many contemptuous and reproachful speeches against the government, denying the magistrates' authority now that the king was proclaimed, and refusing to obey laws that had not come out of England. There were others too of like minds, who not only questioned the legality of the jurisdiction but chafed under the limitations of the

suffrage and looked with longing eyes toward the wider privileges of Connecticut. In October, 1662, a month after the latter colony had received its charter, a majority of the inhabitants of Southold withdrew from the New Haven jurisdiction and submitted their persons and estates to the authority of the newly chartered government. Several people of Guilford followed suit and Stamford and Greenwich went over bodily. Connecticut accepted these overtures and appointed constables for the revolting towns. Within the jurisdiction, men were refusing to accept office—either entirely or only for a year—because of “the distraction of the time” and the uncertainties of the future. Many arguments were used by those who were endeavoring to hold the jurisdiction together, but “they prevailed not.” The general court realized “that there was a great discouragement upon the spiritt of those that were now in place of magistracy,” but it knew of no other remedy than to summon the obdurate persons before it for examination and to bind them over to appear before the court of magistrates as disturbers of the peace. By the end of 1662, the jurisdiction had shrunk to but a fragment of its former size, for only Milford, Branford, and New Haven remained, and even in those towns there was discontent. Milford did not break away until 1664, Branford remained loyal to the end, and in all the towns there continued to exist groups of those who still adhered to the fundamental principles upon which the colony rested. Officially the jurisdiction was still alive and possessed of sufficient strength to resist the Connecticut demands, New Haven and its leaders refusing “to breake or conclude anything that may have tendencie to change of the present government.”

The struggle that ensued lasted for nearly two years,

from the issue of Connecticut's ultimatum in October, 1662, to the arrival of the royal commissioners in July, 1664. During this time, with all the play of Puritan controversialists, mingling loving words with the recriminations of attack and defense, the two contestants waged the battle back and forth. Connecticut, standing immovable on the terms of her charter, demanding the last pound of flesh; New Haven, with Davenport and Leete as spokesmen, with equal firmness opposing the union, saying that they could do nothing against conscience, that the freemen had already voted (November 4, 1662) to uphold the status of the colony, and that in any event they could make no final answer until the results of an appeal to the king had been received. This appeal had been embodied in an address to the king, which was to be presented if other means failed, but Winthrop, who knew all the details of the situation, opposed it, because he was in the midst of his controversy with Clarke over the Rhode Island boundaries and wished to avoid, if possible, "a tedious and chargeable trial and uncertain event" such as would happen if the appeal were handed in. He wrote to Deputy Governor Mason of Connecticut deprecating the course Connecticut had followed, and implying that he had never intended that New Haven's rights should be disquieted or prejudiced by the issue of the Connecticut charter. Afterward Connecticut denied that Mason had ever received this letter. She acted all along with little regard for Winthrop's opinion, taking the ground, as she did later in her controversy with Rhode Island, that once the charter had passed the seals Winthrop had no further connection with it and his feelings in the matter might be safely disregarded.

A further exchange of queries and answers took place

in August, but in no way advanced the progress toward a settlement of the difficulty. It became evident that the issue would have to be brought before the commissioners of the New England Confederation, because New Haven charged Connecticut with violating the terms of that union by continuing to interfere with the New Haven towns. At their meeting in Hartford in September, the commissioners reviewed the circumstances, and the delegates from Massachusetts and Plymouth (the others naturally not voting) decided that because New Haven was recognized in the articles as distinct from Connecticut she could not have her jurisdiction encroached upon. Encouraged by this decision and the manifest sympathy of the Plymouth delegates, New Haven wrote Connecticut bidding her withdraw from all attempts to exercise authority outside her own bounds. Connecticut's answer to this was to ignore the act of the commissioners and to demand, categorically and without reserve, New Haven's submission according to the tenor of the charter. Thoroughly aroused by this unfriendly and peremptory reply, the New Haven court of October 22 considered various possibilities and came to the conclusion that it would be best to appeal to England for a letter of exemption from the king and if possible to obtain a patent of her own, which should spike Connecticut's guns. In the meantime the colony was to hold a day of solemn and public thanksgiving "that the Lord by his mercifull providence hath been pleased to give them some breathing time in the enjoyment of present liberties, notwithstanding their fears."

As Connecticut refused to yield and continued during the winter of 1663-1664 to pursue her aggressive tactics, New Haven, further encouraged by an order of the Privy Council of June 24, 1663, directing the jurisdiction of

New Haven (among others) to obey the navigation acts—an order which certainly recognized New Haven as still independent despite the Connecticut charter—appointed a committee on January 7, 1664, to prepare a statement of the colony's case. This statement, drawn up by Davenport and Street, is a review of the whole situation from the founding of the colony and contains several items of information, otherwise unsupported, of considerable importance. Among them is the assertion that before Winthrop went to England he certified in two letters to a friend that Connecticut had no intention of extending the boundaries of the desired patent to include New Haven and was willing to agree that New Haven should be left free to join Connecticut if she wanted to, otherwise not. Also that New Haven trusting in this promise had felt secure against Connecticut's aggression and had made no effort to obtain a patent of her own. If Davenport's and Street's statements are to be received at their face value, then it seems clear that the English authorities, in consenting to the issue of Connecticut's charter, did not realize that they were encroaching on New Haven's jurisdiction and without intending to do so had given Connecticut legal warrant for her aggressive policy, a warrant that her leaders took advantage of to the full. If the committee's facts are correct, it is not strange that Davenport and Street should have charged Connecticut with a breach of faith and with taking "a praeposterous course in first dismembering this colony and after that treating with it about union, which [they said] is as if one man purposing to treat with another about union, first cut off from him an arme and a legg and an eare then to treat with him about union." In an extraordinarily unfair and self-righteous reply Connecticut characterized this paper—"New Haven's

Case Stated"—which cannot be considered as other than honest and well reasoned, as "bluster," and the references in it to Winthrop as a very ungrateful return for his "great courtesy and tender respect . . . his love, favoure and tenderness." Just why New Haven should be grateful to Winthrop it is difficult to see.

The controversy might have been drawn out interminably but for two occurrences of the year 1664: first, the royal grant of March 12 to the Duke of York; and secondly, the sending over of the four royal commissioners, two of whom arrived in Boston, July 20. The grant invested the duke with the proprietorship of eastern Maine and of the Dutch territory of New Netherland (not yet conquered), extending easterly to the Connecticut River, thus estopping Massachusetts from further expansion to the eastward, taking the region of the Hudson and the Delaware from the Dutch, and handing over to the duke all lands west of the Connecticut River together with Long Island, which meant the New Haven territory and half of Connecticut. It was an astonishing grant, particularly when studied in the light of the charter of Connecticut and the controversy between that colony and New Haven, and also it raises the question as to who was responsible for the boundaries inserted in the Connecticut charter, upon which alone Connecticut based her claims against her neighbor colony. Conditions at Whitehall, in the council chamber, the seals offices, and the chancery, must have been at loose ends if a grant of 1662 to Connecticut could be so completely negatived by a grant of 1664 to the Duke of York, thus throwing Connecticut's claim to the territory of the New Haven jurisdiction completely into the discard. The second event, the sending of the royal commissioners to capture New Netherland and to investigate New Eng-

land, threatened the existence of all the New England governments, for the commissioners were instructed to report on the general situation among the Puritan colonies with an eye to their possible reorganization.

The emergency was a serious one for all concerned. Massachusetts immediately sent word to Connecticut and New Haven to settle their dispute and Connecticut sent agents to New Haven to demand her submission and to take over the control of the colony. There was nothing else for New Haven to do, unless she removed her people as a whole to the region of the Hudson or to the Delaware (for the overthrow of New Netherland had been affected in the summer of 1664), but this step was blocked by the duke's grant of the Jerseys to Berkeley and Carteret, three months after the issue of his charter and a month before the capture of New Amsterdam. Of course the towns of the jurisdiction might remain as they were and go under the duke's proprietary authority, but such a plan appealed to the New Haven people less than did a union with Connecticut. It took the general court a long time to reach a decision, but when in September, 1664, the commissioners of the New England Confederation changed their minds and agreed that under the articles New Haven could be represented by the delegates from Connecticut and on November 20 the royal commissioners decided that Connecticut's southern boundary was Long Island Sound—though how they squared their verdict with a literal interpretation of the duke's grant is difficult to see—then New Haven gave up the struggle. The matter was settled December 15, 1664, though the formal act of submission was not passed until January 5, 1665. In yielding to her fate, New Haven refused to recognize the justice of Connecticut's actions and disclaimed all responsibility for the blow

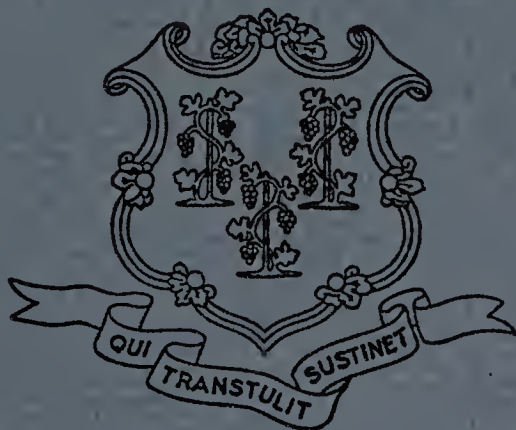
struck at the integrity of the confederation. In testimony of its loyalty to the king's majesty and in deference to the verdict of the king's commissioners she agreed to capitulate "as from a necessity brought upon us by their means of Connecticut, but with a salvo jure of our former right and claims, as a people who have not yet been heard in point of plea." Thus ended as an independent government the jurisdiction of New Haven, the towns of which, from this time forward, became a part of the Connecticut colony and conformed in all respects to the fundamental rules that that colony had established for itself in the Fundamental Orders, the laws that followed, and the charter of 1662.

The failure of the colony as a commercial enterprise—a failure largely due to the insufficiency of the available area of supply—the impossibility of territorial expansion, and the unfortunate location that it occupied on a semi-inland waterway, blocked in some measure at each end, resulted in grave economic weaknesses and eventual poverty and discouragement. The rigid limitation of the franchise, confined as it was to church members only, and the refusal of the leaders to allow in any degree a liberalizing of the system and a consequent widening of the political foundation alienated many of its people. As time went on more and more of the inhabitants looked with envy upon those who enjoyed the broader privileges of Connecticut and were ready to take advantage of the opportunity to break away from an allegiance that became increasingly irksome with the years. More important than all else was New Haven's want of a legal title to exist, for the lack of a charter left her defenseless at a time when her northern neighbor, possessed of greater strength, determination, and diplomatic sagacity, was able to obtain royal privileges, which, however secured,

were to serve, at least in her own mind, as a sufficient legal warrant justifying her attack on New Haven, in the interest of her own expansion in rivalry with Massachusetts. The absorption of New Haven left but two Puritan colonies in New England, which with Rhode Island and New Hampshire made up this section of the colonial area during the eighteenth century.

Whatever one may think of Connecticut's method of bringing about the submission of her Puritan neighbor and the complete overthrow in this manner of an independent jurisdiction, the fact remains that the continuance of New Haven as a separate political and religious institution could have been of no advantage to New England or to the English colonial world. The weakness of the colony was manifest and its continued success as a going concern problematical. Hemmed in by powerful neighbors, its towns scattered and without unity, its territorial contour broken and irregular, it always suffered from want of cohesion and unity. The federation of towns that composed the jurisdiction was always loosely knit and though all were held together by laws, oaths, and a common adherence to certain fundamental Puritan ideas in church and state, its tendencies were centrifugal and there were always among its people a considerable number that were dissatisfied and discontented.

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Brass Industry in Connecticut*

WILLIAM GILBERT LATHROP

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*The Development of the
Brass Industry in Connecticut*

WILLIAM GILBERT LATHROP¹

I

BRASS is the most useful alloy known. It bears somewhat the same relation to copper, although for different reasons, that steel does to iron. Brass is harder than copper and takes a high polish. Since its cost is higher than that of iron or of steel, it is not adapted for heavy castings or for construction work. It cannot be tempered like steel and so is not used for cutting tools. For an endless variety of small wares or for purposes for which its color or durability make it attractive, it is the most available and widely used metallic substance known. Today more than half a million different items of brass manufacture issue from the Connecticut mills alone.

Brass, in the strict sense, is an alloy of copper and

¹The following account is based, in large part, on the author's *The brass industry in Connecticut* (Shelton, Connecticut, 1909) and *The brass industry in the United States* (Mount Carmel, Connecticut, 1926), which may be consulted for fuller information and bibliography. In the preparation of this Pamphlet the author has been much indebted to Mr. Edward H. Davis of Waterbury for helpful suggestions.

zinc, typically two parts of the former and one of the latter. Zinc is not found pure in nature and as a metal was not known to the ancients. Calamine is a zinc silicate and a natural ore. Its composition was not known until the middle of the eighteenth century. All earlier brass was made by smelting copper and natural calamine. About 1750 metallic zinc for the first time came into the market.

The term, brass, is also commonly used as a generic name for any alloy of copper, which fuses readily not only with zinc, but also with tin, lead, nickel, antimony, and other metals in widely varying proportions. Copper alloyed with tin is known as bronze; with nickel, as cupronickel; with nickel and zinc, as German silver or nickel silver; with tin and antimony, as britannia. Lead is frequently used in such alloys to secure mechanical qualities which assist in machining the product. Other elements are also advantageously introduced in certain combinations. The alloys vary in color from red through the yellows almost to white. The physical properties of the different alloys vary widely.

A significant feature of all copper alloys, that is, of the whole brass family, is their wide range of applications in use, due in considerable measure to their facility in manufacturing treatment, and in no less degree to their great adaptability to specific needs through variation in the alloy mixture, but most of all to the many desirable physical qualities which may be secured. Thus, these various alloys may be subjected to either cold or hot processing; may possess a high degree of ductility and malleability, yet may be tempered to spring quality and considerable physical resistance; may be easily fusible, yet are not free conductors of heat; usually are not subject to marked changes on exposure to the atmos-

phere, hence may take a fine surface finish; and usually possess a good degree of electrical conductivity without being subject to electrolysis. The brass family of alloys is, consequently, one which has grown in its uses with the growth of the economic life of the community. From the beginning, it offered, in its diversity of treatments and uses, a field for experimentation and development particularly adapted to the inventive, mechanical, and commercial qualities of Connecticut people.

Archeologists agree that the introduction of the use of bronze marked the first significant advance of the human race. Copper, next to gold and iron, is, in nature, the most widely distributed metal which is now in common use. It is found practically pure, often in considerable masses. While it is easily fused, it is by itself so soft that primitive man could not use it to advantage. Tin is also found pure in nature, but it is not as widely distributed as the other three metals just named.

Gold is more frequently encountered in nature than any other metal, but there is no evidence that it has ever been used extensively except for adornment. Iron is the next most widely distributed metal, but pellets of iron which may have been found in the primitive fire pot could not be readily worked to advantage. Consequently, the art of using bronze easily preceded that of working iron.

Before recorded history bronze was more commonly used than any other metallic substance in Japan, in China, in India, in Babylon, in Nineveh, and in Egypt. From it swords and spears were made as well as household utensils and ornaments. Objects have been taken from Egyptian tombs dating from before 2000 B.C., some composed of copper of considerable purity and some of bronze with a fairly constant proportion of from ten per

cent to fourteen per cent of tin. This seems to indicate that, even so early, the making of bronze was deliberate and intelligent.

Of brass, strictly so called, the earliest articles thus far discovered are from Roman remains deposited about the beginning of the Christian era. For a thousand years brass was used to some extent, with varying zinc content, apparently with no exact knowledge of its composition. After A.D. 1200 efforts were made to secure a definite result by selecting the proportions of the metals to be fused. In 1781, shortly after zinc appeared, James Emerson invented in England the process of making brass by the direct fusion of copper and zinc, which was continued practically without change until the introduction of the electric furnace in 1917.

In ancient times and during the Middle Ages bronze, brass, and other alloys were always cast, at least roughly, into the shape finally desired. The modern process is first to cast the metal in the form of pigs or ingots, which are rolled into strips or sheets, or drawn or extruded into tubes, rods, or wire; this material is then either used thus or sold or manufactured into wares as desired.

II

THE brass industry in the United States had its birth in the Naugatuck Valley in Connecticut. Its subsequent development was much the most important of several attempts to enlarge economic opportunity in a state which had hitherto been mainly agricultural.

No original papers referring to the beginnings of manufacturing in the state survive for the period prior to 1716. All through the eighteenth century the general assembly was appealed to for assistance for various enterprises, many of which were unsuccessful. Brass making, how-

ever, was not to begin in Connecticut until after the close of the eighteenth century. Copper and brass utensils were, indeed, in use, imported from the Old World, but many of the arts in which Connecticut brass was later to have an important part were then being developed with other materials, such as tin, wood, and pewter, an alloy of tin and lead. There were, thus, to be found within the state shortly after the Revolution the beginnings of many industries which later raised the state to the high rank which it now occupies as a manufacturing center. These beginnings were, however, to be found in household industry rather than in more ambitious undertakings of the factory type.

The first in time as well as the most important, both because of its immediate history and because of its indirect influence upon brass and other manufactures, was the making of tinware. The manufacture of culinary vessels and household articles from sheet tin was begun by William Pattison and his brother, Edward, who coming from Ireland settled in Berlin about 1740. After supplying their neighbors they reached out for a larger market. Their wares were sold from house to house, at first by the brothers themselves, afterwards by peddlers whom they employed. As it was easy to make a much larger product than the local market could absorb, for some time the brothers kept the manufacture to themselves. After 1760, however, they consented to train a few apprentices, and after the Revolution their peddlers extended the scope of their operations. At first on foot, then on horseback, and finally by wagon, they sold their wares all over the United States. After a little a special type of wagon was perfected for the trade. A one- or two-horse vehicle was developed, strongly built, to carry prominently displayed samples of wares to be sold.

The peddlers traveled from Montreal and Quebec to Charleston and through the South, also far to the west, even across the Mississippi. They traded by sale or by barter, making use of every means which ingenuity could suggest to market the goods they happened to have. These Connecticut peddlers were for the West and South the original Yankees. The sharpness of their methods was well illustrated by the prevailing tradition that they attempted, at least, to sell wooden nutmegs. It was the common practice to charge all that the traffic would bear.

After 1800 the selling of tinware was fully organized and for forty years Connecticut was the center of this industry. In 1810 two thirds of the product of the country came from that state. In 1832 Connecticut still controlled the Southern and Western trade. In 1845, after manufactures of iron, brass wares, and clocks, the making of tinware continued to be the most important metal-working industry in the state, but after the middle of the century this manufacture declined and practically disappeared.

The most valuable contribution which the tinware manufacture made to the industrial history of the state was the trade organization which it perfected. The itinerant vendors, who were at first interested mainly in the sale of tinware, found their occupation expanded in the sale of other small articles provided for them by Connecticut enterprise. The sale of the product was decidedly the more important end of the business. In 1815 single tin shops sent out as many as twenty or thirty of these peddlers, in some cases twice as many as the workmen in the home establishment. Until 1850 the peddlers of Connecticut merchandise were known all over the country and the part which they played in the marketing of the local manufactures of small wares can

hardly be exaggerated. Several of the men who later made large contributions to the establishment of the brass industry gained their knowledge of the market by their experience as tinware peddlers. In 1850 the standard stock in trade, besides tin, copper, and brass wares, included clocks, hats, shoes, combs, axes, buttons, saddlery, and paper. These wares were even then generally made in small quantities in small establishments with limited capital, but the aggregate of production was large.

An industry with a much more brilliant history than the making of tinware was the clock manufacture. It is known that before 1800 clocks were made, generally of wood, in the household in several places in the state. It was difficult to secure seasoned wood which would resist the influence of dampness. This interfered seriously with the Southern trade. At the turn of the century efforts were actively made to secure satisfactory results by the use of metal. Some cast brass was used, but the finished article was expensive, heavy, and unwieldy, and could not compete with imported metal clocks. Iron and steel were rejected because of rust. In 1830 a patent was issued for the making of clocks with glass wheels! About 1825 sheet brass appeared, the parts being cut from old kettles.

In 1837, Chauncey Jerome, who had been making wooden clocks for twenty years, perfected a radical and revolutionary invention when he placed upon the market a one-day brass clock, which could be manufactured for six dollars, and which was much cheaper than any other clock in the market. This invention was an instant success. In 1842 a consignment of Jerome's clocks was sent to England, which was the beginning of a large and very profitable trade. Except during the period of the World

War brass clocks have continuously been the most important single item of export in the whole list of brass manufactures and, until the invention of the electric clock, Connecticut consistently controlled this industry. Jerome's invention in 1837 increased suddenly and greatly the demand for sheet brass, and it came at just the time when the brass mills were in a position to meet the demand.

Another household industry which had a notable development, and which was also later in close connection with the brass manufacture, was the making of pewter and britannia ware. About 1800 there were several small shops engaged in the production of pewter wares. The most important were in Hartford, Meriden, and Wallingford. Pewter was a mixture of tin and lead, in the proportion of one to four, which fused readily. The process was to cast the metal in the form desired, the articles being then finished by lathe or by hand tools. The first wares were spoons, plates or platters, basins or mugs. The product was marketed by peddlers.

After 1815 britannia, an alloy of tin with small amounts of antimony and copper, came to be used, the casting process still being employed. Pewter could not be rolled, nor could britannia, to advantage. Some rolling was attempted with unsatisfactory results. In 1836 Robert Wallace of Wallingford, who had been casting both pewter and britannia, secured from an Englishman in New York, for twenty-five dollars, a new formula. This was an alloy of nickel, zinc, and copper, in the proportion approximately of two of copper to one of each of the other metals. Wallace secured small amounts of the necessary metals and fused them. The product was sent to a brass rolling mill in Waterbury and then occurred the first rolling, in the United States, of nickel silver.

This was found to be harder than britannia, was well adapted for rolling, took a high polish, was apparently durable, and was successfully used from the start. The rising brass industry found its possibilities enlarged by the making and rolling of nickel silver, and ever since this has been an important item in the trade.

III

OF the various household industries to which the residents of Connecticut about the beginning of the nineteenth century devoted their energy and ingenuity, the most notable in its development within the state, judging by its connection with the brass industry of today and the position which this now occupies, was the making of metal buttons. This was the germ from which grew the manufacture of brass in Connecticut.

In 1790, Henry Grilley, who had learned the process from an Englishman in Boston, associated with his brothers, Silas and Samuel, in the making of pewter buttons in Waterbury. At that time this was a household industry. The pewter was cast in a mould, with the eye in a solid piece, and finished by hand. In 1800 the Grilleys improved the process by the introduction of an eye of iron wire. Two years later Abel Porter and his brother, Levi, came to Waterbury from Southington, Connecticut, and, associated with the Grilleys under the name of Abel Porter and Company, undertook the manufacture of buttons from sheet brass. Apparently they were the first in America to employ the modern method of making brass by the direct fusion of copper and zinc. This also involved the first rolling of brass in the United States.

Copper was obtained by the purchase of old stills, kettles, ship-sheathing, and the like, zinc was added, and

brass ingots were obtained. Until the middle of the century all the copper used in the Waterbury mills was either old material broken up or imported in bulk. All the zinc was imported until about 1870. The brass ingots were taken to an iron mill in Litchfield, where they were roughly rolled and then returned to Waterbury, where they were finished by being run between steel rolls, two inches in diameter, driven by horsepower. The forms were struck by dies from the sheet brass, concave, convex, round, or oval; the face was gilded and the product placed upon the market. The buttons were at first sold from house to house, until the tinware peddlers added them to their stock in trade.

Slowly the enterprise became established. In 1806 Levi Porter retired. Two years later, David Hayden, a skilled mechanic, was secured from Attleboro, Massachusetts, where the casting process was still employed. A larger mill was acquired and water power was utilized. The next year Silas Grilley sold out his interest, and in 1811, all the original proprietors having retired, a new partnership was formed under the name Leavenworth, Hayden and Scovill. From this firm, through a partnership of James M. L. and William H. Scovill in 1827, has come directly the present corporation, Scovill Manufacturing Company.

This is now the oldest organization in the field, continuously operating since 1802. Today it occupies the largest independent plant in the country, probably in the world, devoted to the manufacture of brass, including both its casting shop and mill products and its semi-finished and finished wares. It does, in the main, a custom business, so that only a comparatively small amount of its total product is marketed in its own name. The yearly capacity of its mills is about 100,000,000 pounds. It is a

completely self-contained manufacturing unit. Normally the company has employed about 8,000 hands, but in 1918 at the wartime peak it had 15,000 employees.

IV

FOR twenty years, as far as is now known, this Waterbury undertaking was the only sustained effort to roll brass in the United States. It was not until 1823 that the business had grown to such proportions as to engage attention and to invite competition. In 1812 Aaron Benedict had established himself in the making of bone and ivory buttons in Waterbury. In 1823 he associated himself with four other men, raised a capital of \$6,500 and began the making of rolled brass buttons. By this time cast buttons had disappeared from the market and there were no brass buttons made in the country outside of Waterbury. From this venture came the Benedict and Burnham Manufacturing Company, the second of the Waterbury firms to become established in the industry. This enterprise, which has been in operation continuously since its beginning in 1823, was, in 1900, included in the American Brass Company, then newly organized.

At first Benedict followed the example of the older firm and had his brass rolled in the iron mill at Litchfield. He tried to organize the sale of his product and placed agents in New York and at Philadelphia, but the effort to extend the market was not immediately successful. It was difficult to compete with English goods. Before this an attempt had been made to secure skilled workmen from England, but the first who came were hardly more efficient than the native Americans. Benedict next attempted to get better machinery. In 1824 he imported from England rolls (eleven inches in diameter and thirty inches long) of much the largest capacity then in this

country. He tried to economize by rolling his own brass.

At the same time the Scovills were trying to better conditions. In 1820, James Croft, who reported that he had been employed in Birmingham by an English firm whose goods held the highest rank in the American market, was hired by them. He declared that the machinery here in use was much inferior to that in England and he was sent thither to get better. He returned with an expert toolmaker and the product of the firm was vastly improved.

With the heavier machinery of Benedict and the services of Croft and his mechanic, it was found that English competition could be met, and the profits of the manufacture rapidly increased. It was during this decade, from 1820 to 1830, that the rising industry passed the experimental stage. By 1830 it was securely established. In 1824 Benedict began to roll his own brass and in 1829 Scovill began to roll his. Shortly thereafter Waterbury rolled brass began to come into the market. Until after the middle of the century there was no rolling of brass in the country in appreciable amounts except at Waterbury. As the extension of the operations of these two firms from the simple making of buttons to the rolling of brass for market was a critical stage in the growth of the industry, it is well to consider the condition of the trade at that time.

As the manufacture of buttons was carried on at Waterbury it involved the essentials of the factory system. In this respect it was one of the earliest in American industry. The old processes required the casting of the metal into moulds and finishing by hand and had been carried on as a household industry. In Waterbury machines were then introduced which were novel, for they demanded the attention of operatives and could

not be adapted for household manufacture. The machinery required the use of power. Horsepower was used at first, water power after 1808. There was some division of labor, as rolling of the brass, operating of the dies and stamps which cut the blanks, and finishing were quite distinct operations. But it is not to be assumed that, because the essentials of the factory system were present, the plants were of notable size. In 1820 twenty hands were the maximum number of employees. Even in 1830 the number in the two establishments was between forty and fifty, and ordinarily the members of the firm were actively engaged in the operation of the machinery in the factory.

V

IN 1829, Benedict and Coe succeeded to the business originally established by Aaron Benedict. There was then an open market for about thirty tons of sheet brass and for about twenty tons of wire. The country, hitherto, had imported all the wire and practically all the sheet brass. The margin above their own needs which the Waterbury mills could sell in the open market was small. There is on record only that a few manufacturers in Boston were using small amounts of Waterbury brass in the making of fire engines, kettles, grates, and fenders, and for rolled plates. The calculated profit was large. Both sheet brass and brass wire sold in the market at three to four times the total cost of raw material and labor. During the ten years from 1820 to 1830, from accumulated profits, the two firms had multiplied by four their invested capital.

Believing that a profitable business could be established, Israel Holmes, who had been in the employ of the Scovills and who started more new enterprises than any other individual, associated seven other men with him-

self, raised a capital of \$8,000, and began the making of sheet metal and wire for the open market in 1830. The first firm name was Holmes and Hotchkiss. The venture was not immediately successful. Within eight years several changes were made in the partnership. In 1838 the name was fixed as Brown and Elton, which continued until 1856, when the partnership was dissolved. The prosperity of this new firm was entirely dependent upon machinery and workmen that Holmes, in 1831, secured from Birmingham, England. He obtained three sets of rolls and six wire blocks, and engaged a caster, roller, wiredrawer, and tubemaker. This was the first effort to draw wire and to make tubing in the United States.

After the advent of this third firm in Waterbury it was possible to produce sheet brass and wire in much larger quantity than the open market could absorb. The manufacturers were driven to the task of working up their own product. Up to that time the making of metal buttons had furnished the only considerable local demand for sheet brass. Now, however, was called into active operation that initiative and enterprise which, having established the first rolling of brass, determined that the industry should be localized in Waterbury and the vicinity.

Holmes and Hotchkiss began the making of tubing from sheet metal brazed at the joint. After 1836 such tubing was used for interior work for gas, first by the New York Gas Company. An attempt was also made to supply the demand for brass wire. At that time twelve to fourteen tons of wire was a six months' supply, and it was all imported. It was not easy to secure the market. Gradually this was accomplished and in 1835 twenty-five hands were employed in this department. No local competition had then appeared.

In 1836 this new firm began the manufacture of hooks

and eyes—the first successful attempt in the United States. In 1810 hooks and eyes had cost \$1.50 a gross. The possibility of large profit had encouraged some attempt to make them of imported wire, but this was shortly abandoned. When Holmes and Hotchkiss found a surplus of wire on their hands they undertook this manufacture, and for some years they alone used domestic wire for this purpose. In 1842 the company also took up the making of pins.

Another new undertaking was the making of brass butts (hinges). These had been cast of iron as well as of brass. Their manufacture had been established in Troy, New York, before 1830. About 1835, Benedict and Burnham, who had in the previous year succeeded Benedict and Coe, made butts of rolled brass at a cost and with a finish which easily rivaled those made of cast metal. Hitherto there had been an active trade in imported butts. In 1836 the Scovills also took up this manufacture, and the local market was soon gained.

At about the same time, as has already been noted, the invention of the rolled-brass clock created an active demand for sheet brass. Also the rolling of nickel silver was introduced, principally for the manufacture of tableware.

VI

Two other ventures followed which, for different reasons, had a large place in the subsequent history of the trade. The result was to add two new plants and, for the first time, to extend the industry outside Waterbury.

In 1834 Israel Coe left his partnership with Benedict and associated himself with Anson G. Phelps of New York and with John Hungerford, shortly including Israel Holmes who sold out his interest in Holmes and Hotchkiss. They organized the Wolcottville Brass Com-

pany and established a new industry in Wolcottville (now Torrington) for the making of brass kettles by the battery process, so called. The kettles were hammered into shape from blanks. Before this kettles had been cast. At first imported blanks were used. Then an attempt was made to cast blanks, then to use sheet metal, but the right metal mixture was not discovered, nor was a satisfactory annealing process found. At first it was thought that the troubles arose because of the ignorance or inefficiency of the workmen, so several skilled men were brought from England. These proved to be but indifferent workmen and the product was still unsatisfactory. The new concern barely weathered the financial storm of 1837. In 1842 Coe visited the only two establishments in Europe using this process and secured the right mixture and the proper annealing process. Immediately the product was vastly improved and for several years the company was very prosperous.

In 1851 Hiram W. Hayden, then employed by the Scovills, invented the process, still in use, of forming kettles by spinning and turning, and the Wolcottville concern found its business practically gone. Before this the associates had one by one become interested in other enterprises and the control of the plant had passed to Hungerford. Later his workmen were hired away by another company in Ansonia. In 1863, after the plant had been practically idle for several years, the men who organized the Coe Brass Company raised a capital of \$100,000, bought it, and achieved large success in drawing wire and in rolling nickel silver, brass, and copper. This plant, which has been in operation continuously since 1863, became the central unit of the American Brass Company upon its organization on December 14, 1899.

The other venture had an even larger effect upon later

conditions. It marked the introduction of a new factor in the industry. Previously each new departure had been taken by those identified with the existing mills. Anson G. Phelps was an importer of tin, brass, and copper in New York, and hence was in closer touch with the domestic market than were the Waterbury men. In 1834 he had become interested in the Wolcottville venture but in 1836, associated with some others, he built a mill in Derby for the rolling of copper. He felt that he could successfully compete with the mills up the valley. Smith and Phelps, as the partnership was then called, located their plant on the west bank of the Naugatuck and named the new settlement Birmingham, from the famous English center. The panic of 1837 broke just as the enterprise was getting started, but from the first the new plant was successful. In 1838 the mill was burned, but was immediately rebuilt. Workmen and machinery were secured from England and men were hired from Wolcottville and Waterbury. The new mill made a specialty of copper sheets and wire, and this manufacture was largely centered there.

Phelps, encouraged by his success, planned a large manufacturing community at Birmingham and sought to control the surrounding land. This project was arrested by a man who, learning of the plan, bought a farm that was considered essential to its accomplishment and raised the price of it from \$5,000 to \$30,000. This Phelps refused to pay, so he went two miles up the river where he founded Ansonia, so called from his own given name. In 1844 a rolling mill was constructed there. Later, as the Wolcottville company lost its command of the market for brass kettles, Phelps secured the most of its skilled labor. In 1854 the Derby mill was abandoned and the Ansonia Brass and Copper Company, which came to be

one of the largest establishments in the trade, was organized. In 1899 this company joined with the Coe Brass Company in the formation of the American Brass Company. The success of the Ansonia venture definitely added the handling of copper to the already established brass business. Phelps's enterprise also added a new branch of manufacture to the rising industry, namely, the making of pins from brass wire.

VII

IN America in the colonial days pins were imported and were very costly. One of the items of an estate left in Waterbury in 1749, in company with wearing apparel, breeches, coats, knives, and a razor was a "paper of pinns." In 1775 the provincial assembly of North Carolina offered a bounty of fifty pounds for the first twenty-five dozen pins of domestic manufacture equal to those imported from England. At that time pins cost seven shillings six pence a dozen. The cost of pins and their usefulness gave form and point to the phrase "pin money," designating the sum allowed a wife by her husband for the purchase of such necessary articles. Various attempts were made to introduce this manufacture in the United States, but until after 1830 all pins were imported.

In 1831, Dr. John I. Howe of New York invented a pin-making machine which was successfully operated. He made improvements in 1832, 1833, 1838, and 1841. In the last year the solid-headed pin was perfected. The earlier machines had used a wire-wound head. At the same time others were at work and two other ventures proved to be successful. By 1840 Slocum and Jillson in Poughkeepsie, New York, and the Fowler Brothers in Northford, Connecticut, were making pins for the mar-

ket. The Fowler machine proved to be superior to the Howe machine. The next improvement was the machine for sticking the pins on paper. The high labor cost made improvement necessary. Slocum and Jillson and Dr. Howe together perfected a sticking machine. This gave them a decided advantage over the Fowlers, notwithstanding their better machine for making the pins. In 1838 the Howe Manufacturing Company, which had been organized in New York in 1835, was located in Derby under the influence of A. G. Phelps. This company continued in business in Derby until 1908.

The enterprise of the Waterbury men also appeared in this connection. In 1842 Brown and Elton purchased the business of the Fowlers in Northford and moved the machinery to Waterbury. They also bought a third interest in Slocum and Jillson and made an arrangement with Dr. Howe for the use of his patent of the sticking machine. In 1846 Brown and Elton with Benedict and Burnham organized the American Pin Company, bought the rest of the business of Slocum and Jillson, and moved the machinery to Waterbury. This gave the control of the effective pin-making machines and the sticking device to the American Pin Company and the Howe Manufacturing Company. It was the sticking device which was the deciding factor in the control of the American market. In England pins were still stuck upon the papers for market by hand.

Induced by the large profit realized, many others attempted the making of pins, but shortly these all disappeared. By 1848 the only companies in America were the Howe Manufacturing Company and the American Pin Company. For many years these two, and the Oakville Company, established in 1850, controlled the American market. The two companies last named were ac-

quired by Scovills in 1923, while the Howe Company had been purchased in 1908 by Plume and Atwood.

VIII

THE three establishments in Waterbury, the Scovills, Benedict and Burnham, and Brown and Elton, with the Wolcottville concern and the Derby mill, were the only successful ventures in the brass industry before 1840. It is believed that they were the only plants in the country devoted to the rolling and the working of sheet brass.

The panic of 1837 broke just as the three newer concerns were getting started. The large profits which were being made, the notably increased demand due to Jerome's clock, and the control of the business made possible the continuation of the operation of the factories and, when once the crisis was past, led to rapid recovery. After 1840 the demand broadened considerably, the ventures were increasingly successful, and the next decade was relatively the most prosperous of any until 1880.

Shortly after 1840 another new product of the brass mills was called for, and this was supplied in the effort to work up surplus material. The invention of Daguerre in the realm of photography in 1839 was first applied to silver plates. Soon, however, it was found that copper plated with silver answered the purpose, and in 1842 the Scovills undertook to supply this demand. From the first this effort was successful. Plates considered better than the English, and nearly as good as the French, were placed in large quantities upon the market. Other manufacturers followed this example and for many years the making of photographic plates was an important item in the trade. Many other uses were found for copper and brass in the business of the photographic galleries, and the brass mills supplied these demands.

IX

THE expanding trade and the large profits encouraged competition, and during the next few years several new plants were established. The first new concern to roll brass was the Waterbury Brass Company. The first step in the organization of this company was taken by a man who owned a mill privilege on the Mad River. He enlisted the interest of capitalists, including John P. Elton of Brown and Elton. Israel Holmes was induced to sever his connection with the Wolcottville company and to assume the presidency of the new organization. In 1846 the first mill was built, the largest at that date in the country. In 1852 this company bought of Hiram W. Hayden his newly invented spinning process and soon controlled the manufacture of brass kettles. The success of the new company as well as its rapid growth was indicated by the increase of its capital stock. At the beginning this was \$40,000, increased the same year to \$50,000; in 1848 this was \$75,000; in 1850, \$104,000; in 1852, \$208,000; in 1853, \$250,000; in 1857, \$300,000; and in 1860, \$400,000. From 1855 to 1860 this company handled the largest weight of metal of any in the valley. In 1899 it participated in the organization of the American Brass Company.

From Phelps's venture in Derby two other companies arose. The first was in 1848 in Ansonia. Thomas Wallace, who had learned the trade of drawing wire in England, in 1832 removed to America. For nine years he worked with uncertain results at his trade in various places. In 1841 he moved to Derby and until 1848 he drew wire for the pin machines of the Howe Manufacturing Company. In that year he began operations on his own account in

Ansonia and in company with his sons built up a large business in rolling metal and drawing wire. In 1853 the enterprise was incorporated and a good business was built up. About 1880 this plant was one of the largest in the valley. Later the company was forced into liquidation and in 1896 the plant was bought by the Coe Brass Company.

The second outgrowth of Phelps's activity appeared in the organization of the Humphreysville Copper Company at Seymour in 1849 with a capital of \$40,000, increased to \$200,000 in 1852. The leading spirit in this company was Thomas James, who moved from the Derby mill to Ansonia in 1847. This company prospered in its earlier years, but in 1855, with a nominal capital of \$750,000, it was succeeded by the New Haven Copper Company with a capital of \$400,000. The new company was still overcapitalized and for nearly twenty years financial difficulties interfered with its prosperity. Since 1880 the company has been moderately successful. From the first it has made a specialty of handling copper.

Again in 1851 a new firm was organized in Waterbury which claims to have been the first to use steam power exclusively for the rolling of brass. Previously the Waterbury Brass Company had used auxiliary steam power more extensively than any of the others. Philo Brown had been one of the original partners in Holmes and Hotchkiss and was a member of the firm of Brown and Elton, which had in 1838 succeeded the earlier partnership. In 1851 he, with others, organized the partnership of Brown and Brothers. In 1856 this new firm bought half of the business of Brown and Elton, the other half being purchased by Holmes, Booth and Haydens. For thirty-five years Brown and Brothers secured large profits in the rolling of brass and its manufacture. After 1880

financial difficulties were encountered and in 1886 the company ceased operations.

The indomitable Israel Holmes, who had in 1845 assumed the presidency of the newly organized Waterbury Brass Company and had carried it to notable success, in 1853 severed his connection with that company and organized a new concern, Holmes, Booth and Haydens. From the first it was markedly successful. This was the first company which, on a large scale, started out with a deliberate policy of manufacturing its own product. The first concerns had begun as makers of brass buttons and the rolling of brass had developed under their hand. Holmes and Hotchkiss began by rolling brass tubes for market; the Derby mill was organized to roll copper; the Wolcottville concern had been, at first, interested mainly in kettles; the other companies had also been organized with some specific object in view. Some of these had been driven to manufacture as they had facilities for producing more raw material than the open market could absorb. But Holmes, Booth and Haydens was organized to roll metal and then to manufacture it on a large scale. Holmes had charge of the rolling mill. Hiram W. Hayden, the inventor of the spinning process, who had demonstrated his mechanical skill, was put in charge of the manufacture of goods. Henry H. Hayden marketed the product. The new company engaged largely and successfully in the making of photographic plates, and later of lamps and of burners for the use of kerosene oil. On October 17, 1901, this company joined the American Brass Company, about two years after the latter's organization.

X

THE first brass lamp made in Waterbury designed to use whale oil, of which there is a record, was made by hand in 1807. After this date lamps were both hammered and cast. Gordon W. Burnham, who in 1834 became one of the members of the new firm of Benedict and Burnham, then succeeding Benedict and Coe, had included brass lamps as articles of trade in his occupation as a peddler of tinware. The demand was not large until after 1855 when petroleum began to be refined and to come on the market. By 1860 it was generally known and rapidly came into general use. This created a demand for lamps. Hiram W. Hayden of Holmes, Booth and Haydens, and Lewis J. Atwood, who was for fifteen years in their employ and who later, in 1869, participated in the formation of a new company, were the two men who were most active in the attempt to adapt sheet brass to the making of lamps and their fittings.

The demand for lamps also led to the organization of the Bridgeport Brass Company, which now operates, next to Scovills, the largest self-contained and independent plant in the state for the manufacture of brass wares. In 1853, John Davol, who had been associated with A. G. Phelps in the Wolcottville company, with two partners also from Wolcottville, organized in Brooklyn, New York, the Brooklyn Brass and Copper Company. From 1870 to 1890 their plant was in full operation and it was during that period the most formidable competitor in the trade outside the state. After 1890 its business fell off and in 1903 the land occupied was needed for the anchorage of the Manhattan bridge and the company went out of business. In 1865, Davol and his son also formed the Bridgeport Brass Company. The first interest

of the new company was in the manufacture of lamps, although it shortly began successfully to make clocks. After 1880 it prospered greatly and in 1936 it still holds a prominent place in the trade.

The organization of four other plants must be mentioned. In 1869, Israel Holmes left Holmes, Booth and Haydens and with others organized Holmes, Booth and Atwood, a name which was abandoned by order of the court on account of its resemblance to the older association. This new firm, which became Plume and Atwood in 1871, bought a brass mill in Thomaston, which had been originally established in 1854 to roll metal for the making of clocks, and also a smaller concern in Waterbury. They produced various brass wares and have continued to be one of the important factors in the trade. Meanwhile in 1850, Holmes had been instrumental in the organization of the Bristol Brass and Clock Company. For forty years this did little more than to roll the metal which was used by it in the making of clocks. It became the Bristol Brass Corporation and since 1890 it has entered the market with sheet, rod, wire, and tubing.

Since the organization of Plume and Atwood in 1869 but two new companies which are still active factors in the brass industry have begun business in the state. One, the Seymour Manufacturing Company, located in Seymour, organized in 1878, now specializes in nickel silver and phosphor bronze, of which products it has a significant output.

The other new organization, later known as the Chase Companies, Incorporated, was formed in 1917 by a merger of three then existing concerns. The oldest, the Waterbury Manufacturing Company, had, in 1876, taken over an older company which had been mainly interested in the making of buttons. Later there was a

considerable expansion so that in 1900 the Chase Rolling Mill was built to supply the demand for material to be made into various brass wares. In 1910 the Chase Metal Works built and equipped one of the largest unified rolling mills in the country. The merger of 1917 was supplemented four years later by the purchase of the Hungerford Brass and Copper Company, located in New York City, which controlled the most comprehensive selling organization in the country. In 1929 the entire enterprise was acquired by the Kennecott Copper Corporation, thus bringing into being the second "mine to consumer" organization in the country.

The first was the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which has become the largest copper and zinc producing and copper and brass milling company in the world. This company was, in 1935, in a position to produce approximately half of the copper and brass rolling mill output of the entire country, and to make more brass and copper sheet, rod, wire, and tubing than any other company in the world. It has not extensively manufactured into consumer's wares the product of its mills.

The way was prepared for the Anaconda company to purchase the Connecticut brass mills by Charles F. Brooker, who was for thirty years the most important single factor in the trade. In 1864, Brooker began his career as an employee of the Coe Brass Company, organized the previous year to acquire the idle plant of the Wolcottville Brass Company. In 1893 he became president of the Coe company, which at that time possessed the largest rolling mill in the valley. In 1896 his company bought the plant of Wallace and Sons located in Ansonia. By this purchase Brooker came to control one fourth of the weight of metal in the whole valley. He had obtained, in 1893, a charter making possible the

merger of several existing corporations, but owing to conflicting interests it was difficult to bring the various concerns together. The first combination took place in 1899, but it was not until nearly two years later that Brooker's plans were completed. By the close of 1901, the Coe Brass Company had united with the largest plants in the valley, with the exception of Scovill Manufacturing Company, in organizing the American Brass Company. Some plants outside the state were also acquired. At that time the company made more than two thirds of all the brass and copper rolling mill products of the entire country. In 1922 it was acquired by the Anaconda company. From 1890 to 1920, Brooker was the outstanding figure in the industry in the United States. He died on December 20, 1926.

XI

THE question may now be asked why this concentration of the brass industry has been effected in Connecticut, notwithstanding the entire absence of raw materials within the state and of any immediate absorbing market other than that developed within the industry itself. Continuously down to 1900 four fifths or more of the national output of rolled brass and of its manufacture was produced in Connecticut. In 1935 more than half of the national product—in some special items upwards of three fourths—proceeded from the state. Within the state itself this has continued to be much the most important manufacturing enterprise. More than one seventh of the industrial product of the state issues from its brass mills. Of the total value of the state output of brass the city of Waterbury contributes nearly one half. Of Waterbury's industrial output two thirds come from its brass mills.

In the first place there was no intrinsic reason why this venture might not be made at Waterbury. There were old articles of copper which could be obtained there as well as anywhere. This scrap was at the start the raw material used. Plentiful supplies of wood were needed, and, at the beginning, were available in sufficient amount near by, though this condition was not peculiar to Waterbury. Power was needed, but at first the amount required was not large. Water power was used after 1808, and Waterbury was tolerably well supplied with streams that could be used. Yet, so were many other towns. Indeed, the valley of the Housatonic, but a few miles west of the Naugatuck, contains available sites and a much larger amount of water power. Even the Naugatuck affords better power sites than those at Waterbury. Moreover, the weight of the product was not so great as to be a serious item. A peddler could carry on his back or in his wagon a considerable stock.

The first reason of distinct consequence seems to have been that the pioneers were residents of Waterbury or moved thither from the vicinity. This settlement seems to have been peculiarly confined in its economic possibilities. When the entire region, including much more than what is now within the city limits of Waterbury, was acquired from the Indians, it was figured that only thirty families might find support thereon, for nearly all the soil was poor. The few good farms were early occupied. Conditions made it necessary for the rising generation to leave or to engage in some industrial venture.

Waterbury was originally, or early became, the home of the Grilleys who had cast pewter buttons before 1800, of the Porters who with them first used rolled brass, of the Scovills who succeeded them, and of Aaron Benedict and Israel Coe who first entered into competition with

them. Indeed, of all those who before 1830 were at all prominent in the trade, there was but one outsider, David Hayden, who came to Waterbury in 1808 from Attleboro, Massachusetts, where he had been interested in the making of cast buttons. Success was not in sight at the outset. It took a year and a half for the first enterprise to get fairly started. That success was not assured is apparent from the fact that those who began the undertaking shortly abandoned it to their successors. The original participants began to drop out after four years and at the end of nine years none of them was left. It was the second generation that carried the business through to success and so founded the brass industry in Waterbury.

The determining factors appear to have been the initiative, energy, and application of the men whose fortunes depended upon success. As they persisted, their hope of profit was confirmed by experience. It is a notable fact that, of the ten firms to enter the business before 1865, only two were compelled to undergo liquidation. Inspired by hope of success, those who were active in the rising industry brought to the undertaking splendid ingenuity, enterprise, and perseverance. Difficulties that would have discouraged ordinary men were met and surmounted. Numerous trips, for instance, were made to England and even to the Continent to secure processes, machinery, and workmen. Moreover, when a surplus of metal was in hand the undertakers devised many new processes and invented new applications of brass to produce marketable wares.

The localization of the brass industry in Connecticut has been due, in large measure, to the advantage of an early start, to the prompt creation of business channels, and to the extraordinarily effective control of the market which has been maintained from the beginning. Before

1900 the amount of rolled brass and of brass wire produced for the open market outside the Naugatuck valley at no time amounted to fifteen per cent of the total production—indeed, the control of the production of certain brass wares has been even more effective. Brass has continued to be a comparatively high-priced material, and the unit of production has always been the pound and not the ton. The mills early took to the manufacture of the product of their own rolls and consequently further raised the market value of their wares. As successive difficulties were encountered—the need of machinery, the need of skilled workmen, the demand for capital, the question of transportation, the necessity of enlarging the market by manufacture—they were met by remarkable exhibitions of foresight, activity, and skill.

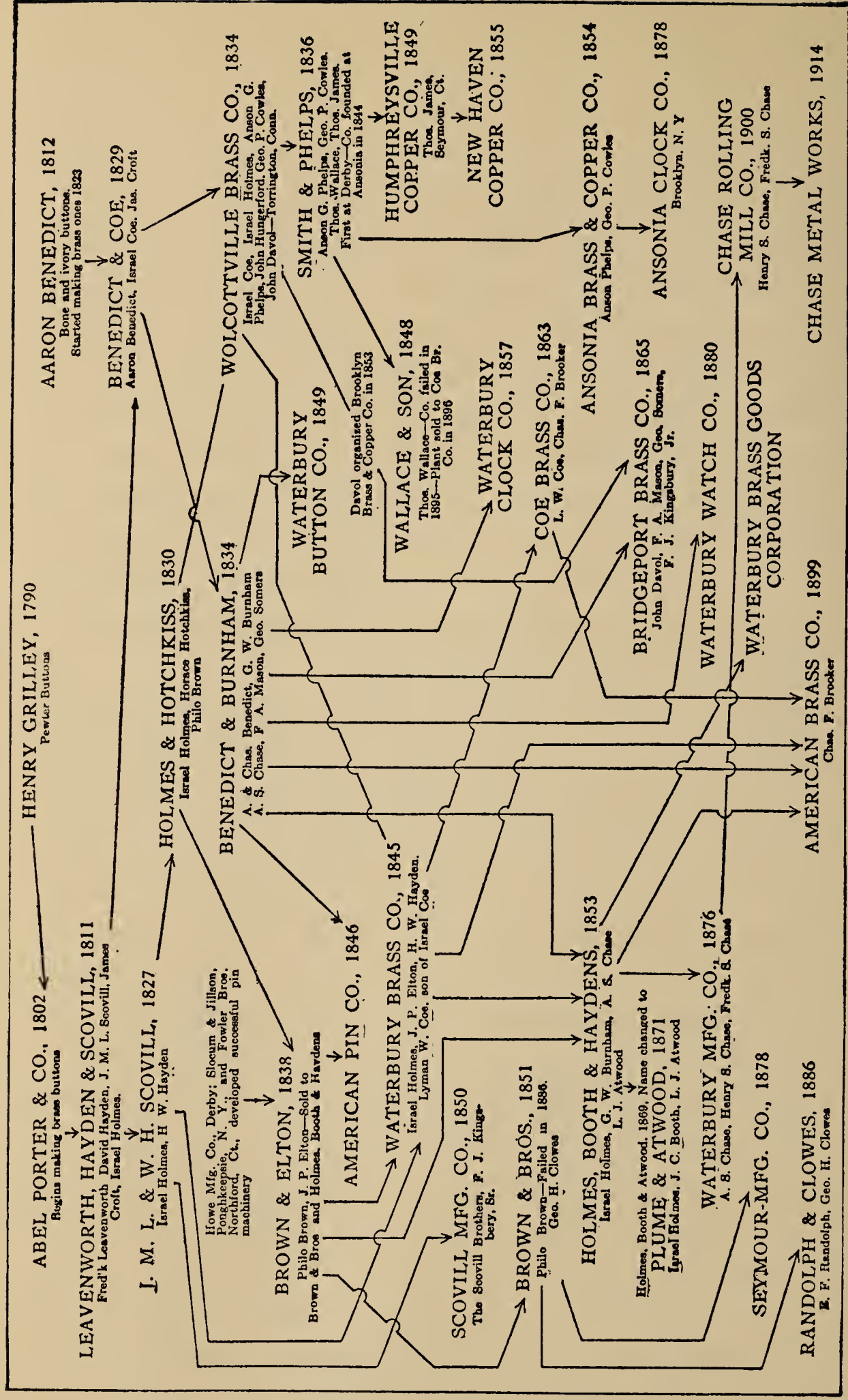
Furthermore, the stimulus of competition outside the industry has not been lacking. Aluminum, steel, even plastic materials have, since 1900, increasingly invaded sections of the field. To offset this, there has been prompt adaptation to the development of large industries to which brass has been an important contributor. Platers' metal has long been a staple supply for jewelry manufacturers. Bearing metals are essential for machinery. Electrical fixtures and small motor apparatus make large demands. Plumbing fixtures and supplies find brass an essential. Heating and condenser tubes, particularly for ocean use, represent one of the most exacting needs. The airplane and automotive fields, like the radio, representing the later stages of industrial evolution, have furnished continued illustration of the vigorous exploitation of the serviceability of brass as a contributory material.

Nor should it be forgotten that, as the business grew, it became more and more dependent upon the mechanical equipment of tools, gauges, and special machines.

Many of these were devised and made at the plants of the brass companies. Others were procurable in the immediate vicinity. The historical importance of Connecticut's development of machine and tool builders was not exclusively located in the machine trades. Finally, it should be realized that the brass-maker's art is essentially one of technique. The problem of production is not basically one of large tonnages but of exacting specifications in varying character applying to a large number of special lots of metal. Successful operation is essentially a problem of successful control of a vast array of interrelated details of shop practice. More than in most large industries of today, the English tradition of transmitted methods still obtains. No small part of the skill of modern management consists in the effective blending of these transmitted methods with the continual discoveries of the research laboratory.

Until recently the only labor skilled in the rolling and in the manufacture of brass was to be found in the Naugatuck valley. From the beginning, when the number of skilled mechanics imported from England could be easily counted, to the present, a substantial control of this class of labor has been maintained. There was not a single brass plant in existence in 1900 in the United States, except the American Tube Works in Boston and the Manhattan Company of New York City, which had been organized without managerial ability or skilled workmen—usually both—drawn from Connecticut.

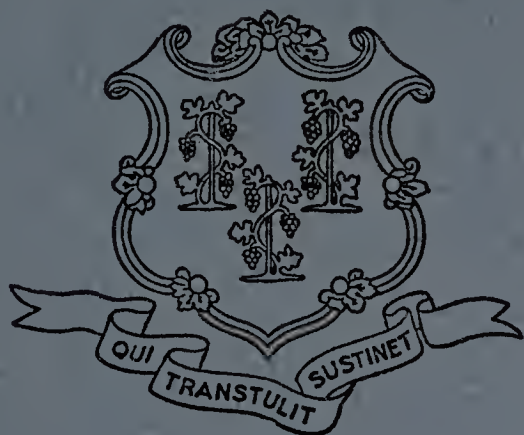
Loyal to the traditions of the trade, yet alert to the changing times, skilled craftsmen, expert research scientists, and able executives are actively maintaining the high character of workmanship, inventiveness, and business management which established the manufacture of brass as the foremost industrial enterprise in Connecticut.



GENEALOGY OF THE NAUGATUCK BRASS INDUSTRY

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ROLAND MATHER HOOKER

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ROLAND MATHER HOOKER

I

IN attempting to determine the exact extent of the colonial trade of Connecticut, the direction of the trade, and the kind of goods transported, the student is greatly hampered by the lack of colonial records. In 1781, Benedict Arnold, in command of British troops, sailed up the Thames river, captured Fort Griswold on the Groton side, and after landing at New London, burned the city. In this fire were destroyed all the customs records of the colony, with the exception of some few in New Haven. This destruction is greatly to be deplored since, for the greater part of the colonial period, New London was the only authorized port of entry for colonial trade and the seat of the only British custom-house in Connecticut. As a result of this disaster, the historian of Connecticut colonial trade, as Miss Caulkins remarked in her *History of New London*, must be contented with grasping "those gleams and shadows that flit occasionally across the view in the investigation of other subjects."

These gleams and shadows consist mainly of various reports to the board of trade in England, of writings in

divers colonial diaries, of the acts of the general court, of the instructions sent to the colonial governors by the board of trade, of the action of the vice-admiralty courts, and of a study of the general British colonial policy in relation to trade with the entire British colonial world.

II

THE early settlers in the River Towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield soon discovered trade to be essential if the settlements were to prosper, as it was not possible to produce the various goods and commodities necessary for their well-being. Only by creating a surplus in some exportable product could they import the English manufactured goods so necessary to them. Fortunately, beaver skins proved salable in England, and during the early years of the settlements, large stores of these skins were exported. As the Connecticut towns had no means either to build or to buy vessels large enough to make the voyage across the ocean, most of their exports were sent on small vessels to Boston where they were exchanged for the desired manufactured goods and transshipped overseas. Besides the beaver trade with England, a market for pipe staves, provisions, and livestock was found in the West Indies. These staples could be exchanged for sugar, the chief crop, after 1660, of the English possessions there, and for molasses which could be made into rum, available for trade in New Amsterdam or Boston.

The general court of Connecticut soon realized the importance of putting its export trade into the hands of responsible persons, and in 1638 granted to William Whiting and Thomas Stanton, of Hartford, the exclusive right to the beaver trade with the Indians. In 1640 Governor Hopkins obtained a special right to trade at

Waranocoe (Westfield, Massachusetts). Corn soon became a surplus commodity and was exported to Massachusetts and Plymouth. In 1644 Governor Hopkins and William Whiting were given the sole privilege of exporting corn and were required to pay a fixed price for all corn so shipped.

William Whiting was the leading merchant of Hartford in the early period. He died in 1647, and the inventory of his estate shows how varied were his activities. Among his effects were goods which could be used for trade, such as wampum, ammunition, various skins, hoes, hatchets, shoes, nails, pins, paper, shot, fishhooks, blades, looking-glasses, pewter, bottles, brass ladles, bells, thimbles, boxes, knives, scissors, combs, jews'-harps, and brass kettles. Besides these minor articles, his executors listed the results of some of his trading ventures such as:

It: in skinns, and debts, vppon a voyage to Verginia, in anno 1647, yet due,	67.	10.	00
It: in Tobacko, at Verginia,	65.	00.	00
It: in the proceed of corne and porke, sould in anno 1648,	48.	00.	00
It: in oyle, soape, vinegar and other goods from Delawar, ye last yeare,	30.	00.	00
It: in trade at Long Iland,	30.	00.	00
It: in stock for trade at Waranoco,	100.	00.	00
It: in goods sent from England,	65.	19.	03
It: in prt of a pinnace,	40.	00.	00
It: in debts at Dillaware, w ^{ch} are haserdous,	90.	00.	00
It: a hhd. of Beauer, very haserdous, at least in great prt, sent for England, in Trerice, valued at,	50.	00.	00
It: goods and debts at Piscataway, very haserdous,	150.	00.	00

This inventory shows that, although during the first ten years after the founding of Hartford trade had been

established with several communities, it was not very profitable owing to the large number of bad debts and the danger involved in transporting the commodities. The trade of Hartford during the first fifty years was very limited, and though such men as Whiting and Stanton were willing to take risks, they were disappointed in the results obtained.

Windsor, during this period, seems to have been no more successful than Hartford in its attempts to enrich itself through trade. As early as 1662 Michael Humphrey, one of the leading merchants, was trading with Samuel and Henry Rose, merchants of Saint-Malo. In 1679 Captain Newberry and George Griswold had warehouses in Windsor, and at about the same period George and Christopher Saunders were traders to England and the West Indies. Yet the volume of trade remained small, owing to the difficulties involved, the greatest of which were the lack of roads and the consequent dependence on river and coastal navigation. Often vessels were wrecked as the channels were not well known and the vessels small and unseaworthy. While the Indians were at times friendly, they could never be trusted to remain so, and were a constant menace to safe trading. Since most of the settlers of the River Towns had been farmers in England and wished to remain so in their new homes it is surprising, considering the danger and lack of incentive, that the volume of trade was not smaller.

Wethersfield's story of early trade is similar to that of Hartford and Windsor. In 1649 the men of the town banded together to build a town-owned vessel, but the profits derived from it were disappointing.

Besides these three River Towns, another settlement, Saybrook, had been established at the mouth of the Connecticut. The founders of this separate community

realized by 1644 the impossibility of continuing it as an independent colony. As it was necessary for the other towns to have freedom to enter and sail from the river, an agreement was made between George Fenwick and the Connecticut colony—an agreement which included the first tariff sanctioned by the people of Connecticut. By this arrangement Connecticut purchased Saybrook fort and all surrounding land, with the stipulation that Fenwick was to receive, for ten years, a duty on all corn, biscuits, bacon, and cattle exported from the mouth of the river. The amount of the duty was small: corn paying two pence per bushel; biscuit, six pence a hundred; cows and horses within the river district, a tax of twelve pence a year; and hogs killed for home consumption or export, a like sum. Beaver skins were taxed two pence a pound when traded within the limits of the river and twenty shillings a hoghead when exported, with the promise that, if conditions in the Indian trade changed, this duty would be eliminated. The amount collected for Fenwick in the ten years during which this tariff was enforced was contemporaneously estimated at £1,600.

III

DURING this period the chief harbor of what is now Connecticut belonged to the colony of New Haven, settled in 1638 by John Davenport, Theophilus Eaton, and others. While most of the towns founded in what is now Connecticut were planned as agricultural communities, with trade as a subordinate consideration, New Haven was, from the outset, intended as a commercial center.

At first, it seemed as if New Haven might succeed in its attempt at commercial enterprise. Soon after the settlement of the town, trade was established with Boston, New Amsterdam, Delaware bay, Virginia, Barbados, and

England. In 1639, three ships sailed directly from England to New Haven, bringing supplies to the new settlement; this, however, was an exception to the general rule, as most supplies came by way of Boston and most of the early exports of the New Haven colony, which were beaver and other furs, were sent to Boston and there exchanged for imported manufactured goods.

The Dutch in New Amsterdam bought from the New Haven traders wheat, biscuit, beef, pork, hides, and furs. They also provided a market for Virginia tobacco and such West Indian goods as cotton, sugar, molasses, and rum. What form of payment was used by the Dutch for these articles is not easy to determine, but it is probable that the New Haven merchants would have accepted gladly any manufactured goods, which at the time were either expensive or scarce in Boston.

The first mention of commerce between New Haven and Barbados was in 1647, when salted fish was exchanged for tobacco, cotton, and possibly sugar. This trade was determined by the surplus of fish which could be caught locally and salted for the export trade. The fish known as alewives were very bony, but became softened during the long voyage to Barbados. Later when sugar became its leading staple, Barbados was always eager to exchange its surplus sugar and molasses for the necessary commodities which it could not easily produce. The fish and sugar trade continued throughout the colonial period, but New Haven did not benefit from it to any appreciable extent. This may have been due to the fact that in the later period the British government was partial to New London in trade matters, or it may have been due to the competition of the Massachusetts towns, which were established before those of Connecticut and were nearer the cod-fisheries.

New Haven, hoping to increase its trade, made several attempts to establish trading posts on Delaware bay. In 1640-41 purchases were made in that district and a trading house was built. The attempt might have proven successful but for the opposition of the Dutch and Swedes who claimed that territory and in 1642 destroyed the trading house, causing a loss to the New Haven merchants estimated at a thousand pounds sterling. Another attempt was made in 1651 which also failed owing to the opposition of the Dutch and Swedes. In 1654 Captain John Mason was invited by the New Haven colony to become the leader of a permanent settlement on Delaware bay but, as he was forbidden by the general court of Connecticut to accept this offer, the attempt at colonization was abandoned.

As time passed and trade did not prosper, it was determined to open direct trade with England. No one man in the colony could afford the undertaking, so a stock company was formed. This company built a ship which was made ready for a voyage to London in 1646. It was laden with a cargo of pease, wheat, West Indian hides, beaver skins, and plate, valued in all at £5,000. This ship, which was to become the famous phantom ship of New Haven legend, was lost at sea and with it was lost New Haven's hope of becoming a leading seaport. The company built another ship a year later and still another in 1648, but these ships also failed in their purpose of bringing prosperity to New Haven. Though trade continued, it was on a minor scale and was subordinate to agriculture, upon which the colony was forced to depend.

IV

THE most important commercial center of colonial Connecticut was New London. Founded in 1646 by John

Winthrop, Jr., son of the governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony, it was not certain at first whether it should be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts or Connecticut. It was therefore natural that the first trade relations should be established with Boston. Thus to Boston were sent peltries and wampum, which were exchanged for clothing, household goods, implements of husbandry, military accoutrements, powder, and lead. A petty traffic was also built up with New London's other near neighbors, Rhode Island and New Amsterdam. In 1662 a coastwise trade in dry hides and buckskins was established with Virginia. This trade did not prosper as Virginia's staple crop, tobacco, was not needed in Connecticut. There is a statement in the magistrate's report of 1680 as follows, "We have no need of Virginia trade, most people planting so much Tabacco as they spend."

During the early period, New London's most intimate and regular trade, aside from the coastal, was with Barbados; two or three round trips were made each year. Horses, cattle, beef, pork, and sometimes pipe staves were exchanged for sugar, molasses, and later, rum. Agencies for the New London trade were established at Barbados, and there was an interchange of inhabitants of the two places. Merchants of Hartford, Middletown, and Wethersfield sent their goods to New London to be shipped thence. Major John Pyncheon of Springfield also used New London as a shipping base. The path to Pequot, the early name for New London, traveled by Pyncheon's droves of cattle, is mentioned in the early records of Springfield.

Trade was established at an early date between New London and Newfoundland. This commerce soon developed into a triangular trade: beef and provisions were taken to Newfoundland and there exchanged for fish,

which was exported to the West Indies, and there exchanged for sugar and other West Indian produce. As there was also a direct trade between New London and Barbados, it is singular that this triangular trade should have proven profitable. It may not have remained so for a long period of time, as Miss Caulkins reported that by 1700, direct trade between New London and Newfoundland was almost entirely at an end.

Soon after the settlement of New London shipbuilding was begun. About 1660 John Coit, Hugh Mould, and John Stevens opened a shipyard, and within the next four years had built three vessels, called barques, ranging in burden from twelve to twenty tons. These were named *Speedwell*, *Hopewell*, and *The Endeavor*. *The Endeavor* was put into the West Indian trade and was sold in Barbados, April 10, 1666, for two thousand pounds of sugar. As there was an abundance of timber in Connecticut, vessels were often built with the intention of selling them at the first opportunity in a foreign port. Most of the vessels built in Connecticut during the colonial period were small, seldom more than two hundred tons burden. The larger vessels had three masts and were square rigged. A slightly smaller vessel, known as a ketch, had two masts, of which the forward was square rigged, the other had a fore-and-aft mainsail. The smallest type of vessel used for a long voyage was a sloop, rigged with one mast, large mainsail, and large topsail. These vessels were strong and well built but quite slow. They were good sea boats, which was a necessity at a time when the dangers of navigation were great, because of lack of charts, light-houses, and other modern aids to navigation. As trade increased, so did shipbuilding. The *New London* of seventy tons was built in 1666; the *Regard* in 1668; the *Charles* in 1672; the *John and Hester* in 1678; *The Queen*

and *The Recovery* in 1680, and the *Edward and Margaret* in 1681—all by the Coit, Mould Company of New London.

The story of the early trade of the other Connecticut towns founded in this period may be quickly summarized, as it is almost identical with that of the towns already mentioned. Such towns as Milford, Stratford, Guilford, Fairfield, and Stamford, all located on Long Island Sound, engaged with Boston, New Amsterdam, and the West Indies, in the exchange of their local products of hides, fish, and pipe staves for manufactured goods, sugar, molasses, and rum. In all cases the trade was small and subordinate to agriculture, as it was only when a surplus could be obtained that trade was possible, and in the early days it was often difficult to produce enough even for home consumption.

V

IN 1659, the Connecticut general assembly placed an import duty of twenty shillings on every butt of wine, and five shillings on every anker of liquors. This was a modification of an act passed in 1654 which prohibited the importation of Barbados rum, or kill-devil, as it was called, and taxed other liquors ten shillings per anker and wine forty shillings per hogshead. To enforce the law of 1659, nine customs officials, called naval officers, were appointed by the general court. As they were the first men so appointed in Connecticut, their names and the names of the towns they served merit mention: for Hartford, Jonathan Gilbert; for Windsor, Walter Filer; for Wethersfield, Samuel Boreman; for Fairfield, William Hill; for Stratford, Richard Butler; for New London, John Smith; for Saybrook, John Westall; for Middletown, John Hall; for Norwalk, Matthew Campfield. The duties of these men consisted in entering and “recording

such Goods as are subiect to Custome," for which service they were paid two shillings for every butt of wine and twelve pence for each anker of liquor. This tax on wine and liquor was the only law of that type passed in this early period by the Connecticut general court.

The colonists were in favor of free trade with the world, having no industries of their own to protect and wishing to buy what they needed in the world market. Their hope of free trade was doomed to failure as, on July 4, 1660, Charles II appointed a committee of the privy council to consider colonial matters and later in the year created two special councils, one for trade and the other for foreign plantations. The avowed purposes of these councils were the supervision and regulation of domestic and foreign trade, the encouragement of home manufactures, and the advancement of fishing and shipping. With the formation of these councils, whose chief purpose was to discover ways to make the colonies useful to the mother country, the colonies became to England important from a commercial rather than from a political point of view.

Connecticut, having no direct connection with England or the Continent, was affected but slightly by the navigation acts, with the single exception of that of 1673, which imposed the plantation duty. Up to that time in order that a beneficial coastwise trade might be built up among the colonies, no duty was placed by the English government on enumerated commodities transported from one colony to another. Many traders took advantage of this and after shipping a commodity, such as tobacco or sugar, from one colony to another proceeded to transport all or a part of the cargo to some foreign port, feeling that they had complied with the law. To prevent this illegal practice, parliament, in 1673, passed

an act which required all captains who had not taken out a bond in England to carry their cargo directly to the mother country to pay a duty at the colonial port of clearance. This payment became known as the plantation duty and was a penny a pound on tobacco and corresponding amounts for other commodities. Payment of this duty did not exempt the ship's captain from giving bond to the effect that if he did not unload the goods in another colony he would take them directly to England.

As a result of this law many royal customs officials were appointed in the colonies, by the commissioners of the customs in England under authority from the treasury, whose business it was to collect duties and to see that they were paid in silver. The object of this duty was not revenue, but the prevention of evasions of the navigation acts of 1660 and later years by making it unprofitable to trade directly with the European continent in enumerated commodities. This duty was unpopular in the colonies, as it was very difficult to make the payments in silver which was very scarce.

The unpopularity of trade restrictions in Connecticut may be seen in two petitions sent by the colonial government to England. One of these in 1665, and the other in 1680, asked that New London might be given special privileges in respect to trade. In the 1665 petition the request was worded, "Grant it to be a place of free trade for 7, 10, or 12 years"; in that of 1680, "Grant unto us that New London and some others of portes, might be made free portes for 20, 15, or ten yeares." Just how much these petitions asked for is not clear. Whether free trade within the English colonial world was all that was wanted or whether free and direct trade with all parts of the world was sought is not shown. Whatever the intent of the colony, the petitions were denied, as the privilege

was thought to be opposed to the interests of the mother country.

VI

THE first comprehensive report of Connecticut trade is contained in the answers of 1680 to the queries of the lords of trade. This committee of the privy council, formed in 1675, consisted of the lord treasurer, lord privy seal, and nineteen others. The report showed that there was no vice-admiralty court in the colony, as it stated, "We have litle traffique abroad and small occasion for such a court, and so have not considered or stated any such court at p^rsent, distinct from the rest; but it is left wth y^e Court of Assist^{ts}."

In reply to the question of intercolonial trade the report declared that "Our cheif Trade, for procuring of cloathing, is by sending what provissions we rays to Boston, where we buy goods with it, to cloath us."

The trade with the Indians was reported to be of no value, as the Indians were so continually at war with each other that they had no time for interest in trade. The commodities of Connecticut were given as: "Wheat, Peas, Ry, Barly, Indian Corn, and Porck, Beif, Woole, Hemp, Flax, Cyder, Perry, and Tarr, deal boards, Pipe Staves, Horses," the yearly value of which could not be determined or what part of the total was exported. Most of it was transported to Boston and bartered for clothing. "Some small quantities [are] directly sent to Barbadoes, Jamaicah, and other Caribia Islands, and there bartered for suger, cotton wool and rumme, and some money." "Rarely, some vessells are laden with Staves, Pease, Porck, and Flower, to Maderah and Fyall, and there barter their comodities for Wine." "For sundry years past" the wheat had been blasted and the "pease spoyled with wormes."

Taking it all together the trade seems to have been very limited and this is borne out by the small number of vessels owned by the colonists. The report stated: "It is rare any Vessells come to trade with us, but what come from Massachusetts Colony or N. Yorke. . . . Our own vessells are as followeth. . . ." Then came a list of all Connecticut vessels, with their home ports. There were altogether only twenty-seven vessels: four ships, three pinks, two barks, six ketches, and twelve sloops. Seven of these claimed New London as their home port, five were from New Haven, one from Hartford, one from Middletown, and the rest scattered among Long Island Sound ports.

When the colonists were asked what they found the greatest hindrance to trade, they answered, lack of capital and high wages. When asked what could be done to improve trade they requested, as mentioned above, that New London and three other places be made free ports for fifteen or twenty years.

In this report the word "barter" occurred several times and gave a key to the character of the trade in that early period. There was but a limited amount of hard money in Connecticut, so that most of the trade was carried out by barter, in the process of which only small amounts of cash changed hands in proportion to the total value of the transaction involved. This exchange of commodities had been standardized to such an extent in respect to furs and pelts that an established table of values was generally accepted. Thus a pound and a half of hides was equivalent, in the ratio of exchange, to a buckskin weighing four and a half pounds. A pound of hides equaled two pounds of old iron and two pounds of hides were proportionate to one pound of old pewter.

In the same year, 1680, the commissioners of the cus-

toms in England sent a letter of instructions to Governor Leete of Connecticut concerning the enforcement of the law relating to the plantation trade. The governor's reply, January 24, 1680, supplemented the answers to the lords of trade mentioned above. Governor Leete wrote: "We have neither had leasure or ability to lanch out in any considerable trade at sea, haveing onely a few small vessells to carry our corne, hoggs & horses unto our neighbours of Yorke & Boston, to exchange for some cloathes and utensils We have allso appoynted Customers or Colectors in our severall countys, to take speciall care that those Acts of Navigation & Trade be duely observed and kept. . . . They are the most aptest persons we could pitch upon for that affayre. This worke is yet novell and unknown to them, . . . but we have no cause to doubt of their fidelity and care in the due attendance of the worke and trust reposed in them."

Governor Leete may have been sincere in this matter. Without doubt the men appointed as collectors found the work unknown to them, but it is to be doubted whether they had any great wish to learn what should be done to enforce the acts of trade. Often it was difficult to find a market for colonial goods in the English West Indies, or, if such market were found, it was impossible to make the exchange with West Indian goods at prices which would show any profit to the colonial trader. In such cases it was a great temptation to sail to the Dutch, French, or Spanish colonies in search of greater profits and to enter into illegal trade with them. This would necessitate a furtive return to Connecticut in order to avoid discovery and confiscation, but the possible gain was worth the risk and public opinion in the colony was favorable to the smuggler, though it is unlikely that much smuggling took place in Connecticut at this time. There are no means to

determine how much smuggling was practiced even in the other colonies. Evidently the English government thought it was considerable, since it issued constant instructions to the various governors how to cope with it, and later appointed royal customs collectors and established vice-admiralty courts in the colonies.

The colonial governors were made the chief enforcing agents of all trade laws, and each of them was required to take oath to carry out the terms of the acts. The oath was to be administered by such persons as the king might commission. Should a governor fail to take the oath, he was subject to a fine of £1,000. In Connecticut, however, the act was never genuinely enforced, though after 1722 the governors were most punctilious in taking the oath to support the acts of trade. The oath was administered to them by one or more of the assistants or members of the upper house of the colonial legislature who held office in the colony only by vote of the freemen of the colony. This taking of the oath in a manner not prescribed must have caused a certain amount of anxiety, as there appears in the colonial records of March, 1698, the following: "The persons by name appointed by his Majesty to administer oath to the Governour to take all due care that the late Acts of Parliament for encouragement of Trade and Navigation, and preventing Frauds &c, be duely observed, not being present, the Governor took the said oath in Councill, being administred to him by . . . three of the members of the Councill." During the remainder of the colonial period the king's appointees remained "not present." The Connecticut governors first gave bond, in October, 1722, to obey the acts after an inquiry had been made if they could do so under the provisions of the Connecticut charter.

VII

DANIEL WETHERELL had been appointed customs master for New London by the Connecticut government, but as no colonial appointments to the customs service were recognized by the English government, Wetherell had to obtain, March 9, 1685, a second commission, this time not from the colony but from William Dyre, surveyor general of the customs in the plantations, as deputy collector and searcher for Connecticut. He was thus the last of the Connecticut customs officials to be appointed by the colony and the first to be appointed indirectly by the treasury board in England. In October, 1707, John Shackmaple was commissioned by Robert Quarry, then surveyor general, to supersede Wetherell as collector, surveyor, and searcher for Connecticut. As Shackmaple was an Englishman who had never lived in Connecticut, it seems likely that the reason for his appointment was an attempt to gain a more rigid enforcement of the acts of trade than that attained under Wetherell.

Shackmaple's appointment affected the colony in several ways. For the first time there was permanently stationed in Connecticut a man who owed his office directly to the English government and who was independent of governor and company. Formerly the governor had appointed the naval officers to regulate trade in the chief colonial ports, to collect the colonial duty on rum and other liquors, and to receive the plantation duty. This transfer of power to alien hands could not but cause antagonism and opposition. The struggle continued for eleven years and in the end proved a complete victory for Shackmaple. The story is interesting in that it shows the spirit of the people in Connecticut at that time, a spirit of defiance, albeit legal, toward all attempts of England to regulate their affairs.

The first hint of a conflict appeared in the records of 1708, which mentioned a letter received by the governor from Colonel Quarry, "who stiles himself Surveyor General of her Majesties Customs in all the Provinces on the Continent of America," relating to the naval officers and deputy collectors within the colony. In this letter Quarry claimed the right to appoint officers under him to administer the collection of the customs and to regulate trade, which right he exercised in the appointment of John Shackmaple. The governor had the letter read to the general assembly, wishing to ascertain their opinion of it. The assembly made no decision but desired the governor and council to consider the matter carefully and to discover whether Colonel Quarry had any authority in the form of a commission from the treasury, to make such appointments.

Before this question could be answered a new ruling from England rendered the situation more acute. In 1709, the treasury declared that any vessel sailing from any Connecticut port to a port in any other colony or to a foreign port must have its bills of lading signed by a royal collector of the customs in Connecticut. Shackmaple was the only royal collector in the colony and as he was stationed at New London, this ruling meant that all vessels had to go to New London in order that they might receive his signature before sailing to any non-Connecticut port. In the trade with Rhode Island and Boston this would cause only a minor delay, as the vessels sailing from the western Connecticut harbors had to pass New London on their voyages; but for vessels that had their home port in New Haven, Stamford, or other western Connecticut towns and wished to sail to New York, it would cause great delay and expense to go first to New London.

Connecticut determined to resist the regulation, and in May, 1710, the general assembly passed the following resolution: "That whatsoever masters do enter and clear their vessels with the naval officers in any of the ports within this Colony, have free liberty to sail directly from such port where they shall so enter and clear, to any port in Great Britain, or in her Majesties Plantations, without being obliged to enter or clear their said vessels in any other port within the Colony."

This resolution was in direct opposition to the English ruling as presented by Colonel Quarry and John Shackmaple, and the colony could defend it only on the ground that Shackmaple and Quarry had abused their authority, a point which at that time had not been determined. In any case the assembly's resolution was bound to have the effect of a protest against the decision of the higher English authorities and of a temporary postponement of the enforcement of a regulation which the colony deemed injurious to its commercial welfare.

While waiting for a reply, the colony was confronted by another subject of dispute. Should Shackmaple seize a vessel for a breach of the trade acts, what court was to have jurisdiction in the case? In April, 1710, Roger Mompesson, the vice-admiralty judge for New England, New York, and New Jersey, held a sitting of the court in the colony of Connecticut. Shackmaple at once filed libels against Daniel Blinn, master of the sloop *Sarah and Mary*, and against Jonah Gross, master of the sloop *Diamond*, which vessels he had seized for infringement of the navigation laws. This was the first instance of the functioning of a civil law court in the colony—a court which had not been authorized by the governor and company. It was a challenge which could not be ignored and the assembly, in May, 1710, passed a resolution

stating that the case should have been brought before one of the courts of common pleas in the colony, "there being express provision made in the laws of this Colony for a speedy tryal to be had in such cases." The assembly further directed that a copy of the resolution be sent to Mompesson and Shackmaple so that, "all further proceedings in the said cases may be stayed in the said court held by said Roger Mompesson, and the said libels brought in one of the said courts of common pleas, according to the law in such case provided."

In this resolution and in the former ones concerning the ports, the general assembly took a definite stand against any attempt on Shackmaple's part to carry out certain of his instructions which it considered infringements on Connecticut's charter rights. In October, 1710, in order to stress the issue, it adopted the following statement of policy: "This Assembly, considering that the liberty and priviledge of our several ports is of the greatest consequence to promote the trade and publick weal of this Colony, do therefore desire the Honbl the Governour and Council, to use their utmost endeavours to defend the rights, powers, and priviledges of this government, in and concerning our said several ports, against all and every person and persons that shall impose upon this Colony therein."

The governor and council were not loath to follow the desire of the assembly, which in effect was a command, although couched in moderate language. In November, 1710, news was brought to the governor that a sloop belonging to Francis Whitmore had been seized by the collector of Newport, Rhode Island, the cause of seizure being that the sloop had gone from Saybrook to Newport with a clearance from the naval officer at Saybrook and not one from John Shackmaple at New London. The

governor upon receipt of this news called a meeting of his council and the following was resolved: "Whatsoever is requisite to be done in this particular case, for the vindication of the vessel seized and justifying the clearing of the naval officer [at Saybrook], be done at the charge of this government."

Several suggestions were made as to the best procedure to follow. First, a plea to the jurisdiction of the court ought to be made on the ground that the alleged offence for which the sloop was seized was committed in the county of New London, because the only charge against the sloop and its master was that the sloop had not stopped at New London to receive Shackmaple's signature. In case this plea failed and the matter went to trial and a judgment were given against the sloop, and in case the owners wished to appeal to England, then the colony of Connecticut would pay all the expenses of the appeal and any damages which might result from an adverse decision.

The case went to trial before Nathaniel Byfield, judge of the vice-admiralty court for the Massachusetts district, which included Rhode Island. He dismissed the case. The collector, Nathaniel Kay, at once moved that an appeal be granted him to Her Majesty in council in England, from the court's decree. The governor and council of Connecticut, knowing that Francis Whitmore, owing to the cost of defending such an appeal, would have to let the affair go by default if the case were appealed to England, resolved that the entire expense of the ensuing defence should be borne by the colony. They stated as one of the reasons for so doing that the purpose of those who had seized Whitmore's sloop was, "utterly to subvert most of the ports in this government established by law, to the ruin of the small coasting trade of this Colony."

So the business rested until August, 1711, when Shackmaple again got into trouble—this time not with the authorities of the colony but with the people themselves. On July 31, he tried to seize, in New London harbor, a vessel whose home port was New Haven, for unlawful trading. Two men, evidently the owners of the vessel, objected to the seizure. To use the words of Shackmaple's protest to the governor and council, they had, "With threatening and violence opposed him in the execution of his office, by wresting a vessel out of his hands." After so doing they had sailed back to New Haven where the vessel remained. Shackmaple appealed to the governor and council for aid in getting the vessel back and at first the governor and council seemed willing to help him, ordering, "The constable of the town of Newhaven . . . to take a boat with a sufficient number of men, and go on board the said vessel with the said collector, and take effectual care for the preservation of the peace, and that no violence or wrong be done to the said collector in the performance of his office."

A few days later, August 8, at another meeting of the governor and council, they modified their former order and decreed that it would be, "best and most safe for the said sloop and her cargo to be continued and secured in the port of Newhaven, until a tryal may be had upon the said seizure, according to law." Just why there should have been such an apparent change of policy or why it should have been considered dangerous for the vessel and cargo to return to New London in Shackmaple's charge is difficult to say. The only explanation that seems logical is that New Haven was in the eyes of the Connecticut government a port of equal importance with New London, although it was not so recognized by Shackmaple. Consequently the governor and council probably felt that

Shackmaple should prosecute his case there rather than in New London. Otherwise, the cause of port equality for which Connecticut was so valiantly contending would be lost.

For the next three years the controversies between Shackmaple and the colonial authorities were of minor importance. Nathaniel Kay, of Rhode Island, won the right to appeal to England in the Whitmore case, and Connecticut sent instructions to her agent in London to defend it, but it was not brought to trial for several years. The records of the governor and council, November 13, 1713, show that the governor had been advised that the "controversie was referred to the consideration of the Honbl Francis Nicholson, Esqr, and that the surveyour general, and others, would improve their utmost interest to get most of the ports established by this government laid aside"—but time passed and no decision was reached.

Matters came to a crisis in March, 1715, when Daniel Apply, coming before the governor and council, complained that in the preceding October Shackmaple had seized a vessel belonging to him and refused to bring the matter to trial. He begged that the governor and council force Shackmaple to take prompt action. At once the governor took up the complaint with Shackmaple and again the question of an admiralty court arose when Shackmaple replied that he would gladly bring the case to trial but that in his opinion there was no court in the colony with jurisdiction to hear it, thus denying the jurisdiction of the colony's common law courts.

This denial was, of course, a direct challenge to the governor, who as we have seen had stopped the trial before Roger Mompesson on the ground that the colonial courts of common pleas had sufficient jurisdiction in the matter. The governor accepted the challenge and de-

manded Shackmaple's appearance before him at the next meeting of the council. Shackmaple appeared and gave the same defense as before. During the interview he made it clear that the reason for the seizure was that the vessel had made a voyage from New York to Saybrook without first having gone to New London to receive Shackmaple's signature to the entrance. The governor and council heard Shackmaple's explanation, judged it insufficient, and ordered him to bring the case to trial before a court of common pleas or to release the vessel. They also reprimanded him for what they termed "a manifest breach of his duty" in not having brought the case to trial sooner.

Shackmaple did not obey the governor's orders and a deadlock ensued, for in the following May, the general assembly instituted steps to force Shackmaple out of office. It passed a law that any person who shall "pretend to have and exercise the power and office of a collector in any place or port within this Colony, before he has produced to the Governour and Council a commission for that end, from the Lord High Treasurer, Commissioners of the Treasury and the Commissioners of the Customs, and present the same to be entered in record in the Secretaries office, shall not be allowed to execute the said office of collector," and that anyone so doing should be fined £100.

This was a direct attack on Shackmaple as it was well known that he held no such commission, having been commissioned by the surveyor general, Colonel Quarry. As Shackmaple paid no attention to this law, he was again called before the governor and council. The scene must have been dramatic. We can picture the governor and council seated behind tables—the embodiment of colonial authority—Shackmaple entering and standing,

and upon being asked for his commission, handing to the governor his commission from the surveyor general. The governor possibly feigns surprise and asks for letters or other papers from the lord treasurer, or from the commissioners of the treasury or of the customs, which can satisfy his council that they even knew of Shackmaple's so-called appointment. Shackmaple stands silent, having nothing to reply nor papers to show, and then withdraws. The governor rises and solemnly announces that Shackmaple does "not appear qualified with powers for the executing the office of collector in this government, according to the act of Parliament in the seventh and eighth year of King William the third" (1696). He then sits down, and the clerk of the council is ordered to inform Captain Shackmaple of this decision.

Apparently Governor Saltonstall and all Connecticut had, in removing Shackmaple from office, won a victory over the home government in England. There was no longer any one in the colony who had the power to seize any vessel arriving in or departing from any Connecticut port other than New London.

Unfortunately there was another side to the question which the colony had not considered. Though vessels entering Connecticut were now safe, any vessel sailing to a port outside Connecticut was still liable to seizure at that port for not having its papers signed by a duly authorized royal collector of customs in Connecticut. A case of this kind soon arose. In September of the same year John Sloss of Fairfield had his sloop seized in New York for this reason. The Connecticut government took notice of this at once and passed a resolution certifying to the validity of Sloss's clearance papers. Later in the year John Mayhew and George Plumbe had their sloops seized in Barbados. In this instance, the governor sent a

letter, December, 1715, to Colonel Lowther, governor of Barbados, and the following April, 1716, sent a certificate stating that Plumbe was qualified to trade in spite of the fact that his papers had not been signed as required by law.

Just what the outcome of this struggle might have been had not England at last intervened is difficult to say. It appears that for the next few years Connecticut vessels were able to avoid seizure, even though they had no properly signed clearance from a royal collector of customs. At least there is no further mention of seizures in the records of the general assembly or in those of the governor's council. In 1718 England settled the question finally. Shackmaple was given a new commission, granted by the treasury, and New London became the only port of entrance or clearance for intercolonial and foreign trade, remaining so until almost the end of the colonial period. In 1728 the office of surveyor and searcher was separated from that of collector, and John Shackmaple, Jr., was appointed by the surveyor general, James Stevens. After the elder Shackmaple died, about 1730, his son became collector and Richard Dinfry of Newport, surveyor.

VIII

SEVERAL attempts to open direct trade with England were unsuccessful. In 1690, John Wheeler built at New London a vessel intended for trade with England, but on its first voyage to London Wheeler died, and as no one could be found willing to take over the risks of a trans-Atlantic traffic, the ship was taken by Wheeler's creditors in England and never returned to New London.

In the *Boston news letter* of May and June, 1704, appeared the record of another failure. "New London, May 11, 1704. Capt. Edward Parry, in the *Adventure*, is

beginning to load for London, and will sail in about 3 weeks." "May 18. Capt. Parry, in the brigantine *Adventure*, being dead, the owners design Samuel Chester, master, who is to go with the Virginia Fleet." "June 1. Capt. Chester, from New London, and Capt. Dawson, from New York, will sail in 10 days for London, with the Virginia Convoy." Captain Chester, sailing on June 12, was too late to keep the rendezvous with the Virginia fleet and was captured by the French, who at that time were engaged in war with the English.

The various controversies between England and France in the years between 1689 and 1763 introduced new factors in colonial trade at large. Of those seventy-four years about thirty-two were spent at war. Even if these wars had not originated in Europe, they would inevitably have broken out in America, owing to the struggle between the French and English colonists for possession of the northeastern part of the continent of North America. The presence of these two rivals in North America could end only in the elimination of one, as both were aggressive and their theories and methods of colonial development could not be reconciled.

The effect of this contest upon Connecticut's commercial activities was slight. As late as 1711, her coast-wise trade was still chiefly confined to Boston. In that year between September 8 and November 30, fourteen sloops arrived from that port. The vessels entered, deposited their cargo, and departed, all within the period of a few days, as can be seen in the record that *The Ray* arrived from Boston on October 26 and sailed on the return voyage two days later.

The trade with Barbados improved after the peace of Utrecht, 1713, when horses were added to Connecticut's exports. Voyages thither required from eighteen to thirty

days and as many as six vessels would sail simultaneously, each carrying forty to fifty horses. These vessels were known as horse-jockeys. It is uncertain how many horses were shipped at any one period, but it seems likely that New London became the center for the trade of western Massachusetts as well as for that of all Connecticut.

In 1725 Captain John Jeffry of Portsmouth, England, came to New London. After remaining there a year, he moved to the Groton side of the river and opened a shipyard where he built the largest vessels constructed in Connecticut in the colonial period. The first ship was of 700 tons—probably the largest ship that had been built up to this time on the colonial side of the Atlantic. A few years later Jeffry built another large ship of 570 tons for the European trade. It was named the *Don Carlos* and, under the command of Captain Hope, sailed for Lisbon on November 29, 1733.

In 1732 Nathaniel Shaw of New London sailed as master on a voyage to Ireland. The report does not say of what his cargo consisted, but it was probably timber, nor does it state what he hoped to bring back on the return voyage. Once in Ireland, however, he undoubtedly went to London or one of the British outports and brought back the usual manufactured commodities, because direct trade from Ireland to the plantations was forbidden by law.

IX

THE year 1730 was important in the history of Connecticut commerce in two ways: first, another report was sent by the colony to the board of trade in England; and second, the New London Society of Trade and Commerce was founded. The report enumerated forty-two vessels in the

colony actively engaged in trade. These vessels varied in size from twelve to sixty tons and were distributed among seventeen of the Connecticut towns. New London and New Haven led with five vessels each. Hartford, Guilford, and Norwich owned four each, Saybrook and Stratford three each. The remaining fourteen were scattered among ten other settlements. The report went on to state that foreign exportation was limited to a few voyages to Ireland with timber as cargo; that a few ships with their cargoes were sold at Bristol—an example being a sloop of ninety tons then making ready at Hartford for a voyage to Bristol where it would be sold; that there was a small trade with the West Indies in exporting horses and lumber in return for sugar, salt, molasses, and rum; and that the surplus of provisions, tar, and turpentine was shipped to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York.

The formation of the New London Society of Trade and Commerce in 1730 was a brave attempt to improve the trade of the colony. About eighty of the leading merchants of Connecticut became members. They obtained loans from the public treasury for the purpose of building some ships and of buying others not in use. As security, they gave a mortgage on all property owned by the society. At first the latter prospered and it was hoped that the good results of the enterprise would be permanent. But in 1733 a series of misfortunes brought disaster. One schooner sent out for whales met with no success and had to be transferred to the southern coasting trade. Returning from a voyage to North Carolina laden with pitch and tar, it disposed of its cargo in Rhode Island, but on the short homeward journey was wrecked in a snowstorm, on Mason's Island, about six miles from New London harbor, January 19. Three out of the five

members of the crew perished. The loss of the vessel, while a great material disaster, was small compared to its effect on the morale of the people of New London and Connecticut. In their discouragement they withdrew their support from the society, which found itself unable to meet its immediate obligations and so emitted bills of credit or society notes to run for twelve years—dated from October 25, 1732 to October 25, 1744.

These notes, at first, were hailed with delight by the people and were accepted as currency, because one of the great obstacles to colonial trade had always been the lack of an adequate medium of exchange. These notes might have solved the problem but for the unfortunate fact that the society had neither the legal right to issue a paper currency nor the financial strength to make such paper of stable value. The governor and the council soon saw the evils underlying this scheme and issued an order denouncing it. A special session of the assembly was called by the governor, February 15, 1733, which dissolved the society on the grounds that it had exceeded its powers and endangered the economic welfare of the colony. The assembly required the members of the society to redeem the bills, and to assist them issued its own bills against mortgages given by the members. The extinction of these bills and mortgages and the settlement of the problems involved required many years and much litigation. The society attempted to fight this action of the legislature and threatened an appeal to England. It held out for two years but at last, unable to gain adherents, it unanimously voted to dissolve in June, 1735, leaving the colony in a state of great commercial distress. Although the decision of the legislature made the failure of the society inevitable, it prevented the ultimate weakening of the economic stability of the colony.

X

THE diary of Joshua Hempstead of New London gives some information about the number of vessels entering and leaving New London harbor each year. Unfortunately Hempstead did not attempt to keep a complete record of the shipping. His interest was largely limited to the voyages that he hoped might prove personally profitable or to voyages that might bring him news of members of his family. Thus he mentioned fourteen sailings to the West Indies for the year 1715, and two return trips. For 1716, when he was himself keenly interested in this West Indian trade, he mentioned fifteen sailings and sixteen returns. His ventures evidently did not prove as profitable as he had hoped, for after 1716 he apparently limited his activities to farming and other purely local pursuits. For 1717 he reported only nine vessels on the outward voyage and six on the return; for 1724 eight out and three in; for 1735 five out and three in. He recorded that four arrived in 1750, and that on December 5 of that year about twenty were in the harbor ready to sail.

As it took about four months for a round trip from New London to the West Indies, not more than three such trips could be made in a year. Consequently, it may be assumed that from five to ten vessels were engaged in this trade for the greater part of the period covered by Hempstead, from 1711 to 1758.

Several references can be found to the number of vessels that entered and left the port of New London for the year March 25, 1748, to March 25, 1749. A writer of the period, William Douglass, noted that during that year, "Scarce any Registered more than 80 Tuns, and generally are West India Traders. Entered Inwards . . . 37, Cleared Outwards . . . 63." He added: "*Connecticut* uses

scarce any foreign Trade; lately they send some small Craft to the *West-India* Islands; they vent their Produce in the neighbouring *Continent* Colonies, *viz.* Wheat, Indian Corn, Beaver, Pork, Butter, Horses, and Flax." Miss Caulkins took issue with Douglass on this point and observed: "This author certainly underrated the exports of the colony. In the article of *horses*, especially, more were brought from other colonies here to be shipped for a southern market, than were sent from hence to our neighbors."

In 1747 an interesting experiment was made by the general assembly to increase the direct trade between Great Britain and Connecticut. For several years the dependence of Connecticut merchants for British manufactured goods upon the Boston and New York importers had been considered injurious. It was believed that if the middlemen in Boston and New York could be eliminated, the merchants would then be able to receive British goods at lower prices, and sell them in turn more cheaply. In this way, thought the assembly, the entire colony, as well as the merchants, would benefit and Connecticut's position in Great Britain, as a direct consumer of British goods, would be more favorable. To put this plan into effect the assembly passed, in 1747, "An Act for the Regulating and Encouragement of Trade in this Colony." This act, which was to remain in effect for five years, placed a duty of £5 on every £100 of goods imported from the neighboring colonies and granted a bounty of £5 on every £100 of goods directly imported from Great Britain. In theory this bounty would cost the colony little as it would be paid from the duty collected on goods imported from neighboring colonies.

While this measure was based upon what seemed to be sound reasoning, in practice it was a complete failure. To

import enough goods directly from Great Britain to supply the wants of the colony was found to be impossible, even with the bounty, because there were not traders enough in Connecticut able or willing to make the necessary voyages to Great Britain. Under the circumstances it became necessary to continue to make use of middlemen in Boston and New York, and to pay the duty on all foreign importations, thereby raising the price of imported goods to the extent of the duty. The unwisdom of the act was quickly realized and in the following year, 1748, the assembly repealed both the duty and the bounty. Connecticut discovered that the middlemen of Boston and New York were performing a necessary function, and made no further attempt to eliminate them.

To a series of questions which the board of trade in London sent to the Connecticut government, the governor and company, in 1749, made an elaborate reply. This reply contained little new information concerning trade, which was said to be small, consisting chiefly of horses, lumber, and provisions shipped to the West Indies and exchanged there for sugar, rum, molasses, salt, and some bills of exchange. Surplus foodstuffs were dispatched to Boston, New York, or Rhode Island and there exchanged for European goods. The report referred to the attempt to increase direct importation of goods from Great Britain, and gave a list of imported goods of British manufacture, which included woolen cloth, silks, firearms, and all sorts of cutlery ware, the total value of which was said to be unknown.

XI

DURING the last twenty years of the colonial period three additional reports were sent to the board of trade. These

reports, dated 1756, 1762, and 1774, are of great importance for they not only indicated the type of trade, but estimated, in values, the total amount of imports and exports, and gave, in figures, the population of Connecticut. The report of 1756 fixed the total imports of British manufactured goods at £50,000 and exports at £130,000, thus giving Connecticut a favorable balance of trade of £80,000. The population of Connecticut was then about 130,000 (128,212 whites and 3,587 blacks),¹ therefore the value of exports per capita was about £1, while that of imports was seven shillings eight pence.

In 1762 the exports had grown to £150,000, an increase of £20,000, while imports were £100,000, an increase of £50,000. There was still a favorable trade balance of £50,000. The increase of population of 15,000 (total 141,000 whites, 4,590 blacks) almost balanced that in exports, so the per capita figure of £1 still remained, while the ratio of imports to population had reached the per capita figure of nearly fourteen shillings.

The figures for 1774 showed the imports and exports to balance at approximately £200,000, and the population to be nearly 200,000. The per capita rate of £1 for exports remained the same, but the per capita rate for imports had risen from fourteen shillings to £1. The favorable balance of trade had entirely disappeared.

Interesting information obtained from these three reports shows that, while the exports always held the same proportions to the population, the imports increased more rapidly than the population, resulting, as stated above, in the entire loss of a favorable balance of trade. During the period, although production and expor-

¹These figures are from Governor Fitch's report dated April 15, 1756. The colonial census as of January 1, 1756, enumerated 126,976 whites, 3,019 negroes, 617 Indians, total 130,612. Possibly the governor had available corrected returns.

tation remained proportionally unchanged, the people of Connecticut began to spend more freely. It would seem to have been a period of economic expansion in the colony. This may be accounted for by the fact that in this period money became more plentiful, due to the credits paid by Great Britain for help given her by Connecticut in the French and Indian War. Probably a large part of this money found its way back to Great Britain through the purchase of British manufactured goods, and the conclusion may be drawn that it was necessity, rather than desire, which made the Connecticut colonial so noted for his frugality.

XII

THE question of internal distribution is important in any study of the commercial life of a community. All the early settlements in Connecticut were either on rivers or on Long Island Sound. The transportation problem for these settlements was quite simple but, in the eighteenth century, inland settlements began to spring up, which could be reached only by overland routes. It is very difficult to discover any definite evidence of how this problem was solved, but there are certain facts from which general theories may be evolved. Connecticut throughout the colonial period had such inadequate roads that overland transportation was difficult. Wagons or carts drawn by oxen or horses were used for such transportation as there was; and often as many as eight oxen were necessary to keep the unwieldy carts moving.

As early as July 5, 1643, the Connecticut general court granted liberty for a weekly market to be held in Hartford, on Wednesdays, "for all manner of commodityes that shall be brought in, and for cattell, or any marchandise whsoever." Two years later, in 1645, Hartford was

permitted to hold two fairs a year, upon the second Wednesdays of May and September. With the establishment of markets and fairs one of the greatest obstacles to distribution was surmounted. Men from outlying farms could bring in their surplus products and exchange them there for manufactured goods. As the inland towns grew up a similar system seems to have been established, the general store taking the place of the market or fair.

The carrying of manufactured goods from England to some farm in the northeastern part of colonial Connecticut was a complicated and arduous undertaking. The goods had first to be sent to Boston, New York, or some Rhode Island port. They were then transshipped to New London or Norwich and there placed in warehouses. To these warehouses would come the wagons of the owner of the general store in some inland town. The return trip with the wagons heavily laden must have been a difficult one, but when completed and the goods exposed for sale in the general store, the farmer, coming in on horseback or with his small wagon, could easily select what he needed and after paying for it, usually with his surplus farm produce, would carry the goods to their final destination. This was not the only method of distribution. Goods were often brought to the small inland towns of northeastern Connecticut overland from Providence, thus eliminating the sea transportation from Providence to some Connecticut seaport. Much the same methods were employed for the distribution of West Indian products such as sugar, molasses, rum, and the like.

It is easy to understand that with transportation dependent upon carts drawn by oxen, trade was greatly hampered. Towns not on the water were forced to be self-supporting to an extent that seems incredible to persons accustomed to railroad service and fine motor

highways. Only those things that could not be made at home were imported, and as the difficulty of marketing home produce was as great as that of obtaining foreign goods, the farmer met his needs by producing in his own home, farm, or shop the articles required for his use and that of his family. It is a safe generalization to say that, in colonial Connecticut, by far the greater part of the trade was limited to those sections of the colony which had ready access to the water.

Another important factor in the distribution of goods throughout the colony must have been the peddler who, with a pack on his back or, if he had gained a bit of capital, with a horse, roamed throughout the colony with a varied assortment of merchandise. One of the more famous of these peddlers was Edward Pattison who settled in Berlin about 1740. He was a tinsmith by trade and soon began to manufacture tinware—perhaps the earliest manufacturing industry on any scale in Connecticut. At first he peddled his own wares, in a basket, but as business improved he pushed a two-wheeled cart about the countryside. This was not a satisfactory method for long journeys, and he soon enlarged his resources, first, by one-horse wagons, and later by large carriages with from two to four horses. His business in time expanded so as to cover most of New England and New York.

The extent of trade carried on by the peddlers is impossible to determine. It must have been considerable, as in May, 1727, a petition, signed by the leading merchants of Connecticut, was presented to the general court, complaining against "Multitudes of foreign peddlers who carry packs of goods to be sold from house to house and who escape the burden of taxation imposed on the regular merchants." The general court deemed the petition of some importance, as they passed a resolution recom-

mending that a bill be drafted prohibiting peddlers in the colony. The bill was so drawn, and imposed a fine of ten pounds for carrying goods from town to town or from house to house. For some reason it was not passed, and the peddlers enjoyed freedom of action until 1757, when a bill regulating and licensing them was adopted. Each peddler had to obtain annually a license from a judge of a county court, the cost of which was five pounds, plus a fee of four shillings. In 1765, the cost of the license was increased to twenty pounds and the fee to eight shillings. In 1770, all peddling was prohibited, except in deerskins, beaver furs, and the produce and manufactures of Connecticut and neighboring colonies.

XIII

AN investigation of the local town records and histories of Connecticut for the purpose of obtaining information concerning trade at the end of the colonial period as compared with the period prior to 1680, has been unsuccessful. The majority of the records are concerned either with the period of settlement or with the period after the Revolution. It seems probable, however, that there was little to distinguish one seaport or river town from another, except in respect to volume of trade. New London remained the chief Connecticut seaport to the end of the colonial period. New Haven, after 1760, when the British government made it an official port of entry, began to encroach on New London's monopoly. The other Connecticut towns confined themselves mainly to a coastwise trade with Boston, Rhode Island, and New York, with occasional voyages to the West Indies and Great Britain. In each seacoast town there were merchants who owned vessels, brought in supplies, and exported the surplus of the local community. Definite records of these transac-

tions are not available and if available would be of local rather than of general interest.

The year 1763 marked the end of an old era and the beginning of a new one in British colonial policy. As already seen, during the preceding century British policy had attempted to force colonial trade into such channels as would prove of greatest benefit to the mother country. To this end, various acts had been passed and an administrative system of royal customs and other officials, backed by vice-admiralty courts, had been established. The plantation duty had been imposed solely for the purpose of aiding in the enforcement of the trade laws. No revenue had been expected from this duty and there had been none, as it was estimated that the cost of collection was about four times the amount of the duties received.

During the last few years before the Revolution, trade was established between New London and Gibraltar and Spanish ports on the Mediterranean. To the European ports were sent flour, lumber, and provender, in exchange for mules, which were carried to the West Indies and there traded for West Indian sugar and local products. Nathaniel Shaw of New London, in 1772, sent his sloop, *Dare*, to Great Britain with brown sugar, molasses, coffee, and one bag of cotton wool. The shipment was accompanied with the statement that there was at that time an oversupply of these articles in New England, owing to an increase in the West Indian trade, but that he hoped to dispose of them in England and, if successful, he could then send annually three or four vessels loaded with such merchandise. The Revolution put an end to all such commercial expectations.

In 1763, soon after the Peace of Paris, the British government made an attempt to suppress smuggling

along the New England coast. An early issue of the *New London gazette* announced that a British squadron had been ordered to cruise along the New England coast to enforce the trade regulations. *The Jamaica* was stationed at Marblehead, *The Squirrel* at Newport, and *The Cygnet* at New London. *The Cygnet* arrived at New London January 11, 1764, and wintered in the harbor for the next three years. What influence its presence there had upon the colonial trade is difficult to say, but the effect of the crew on the population of New London was such as almost to revolutionize the social life of the community. One of the officers, the purser, married a New London girl and founded a family. Six of the crew deserted and were never recaptured, as they remained in hiding until *The Cygnet* finally returned to England. Another officer of the vessel, who later became a respected shipmaster, deserted the ship the night before it was to return to England. Although the ship was anchored about three miles from land, he decided to risk his life rather than return to England. As soon as it was dark, he slipped overboard and struck out for the land. Fortunately for him, when almost exhausted, he was picked up by a small boat and brought safely to shore.

In 1776, at the May session of the legislature, the governor was placed at the head of the naval and custom-house business of the colony with power to appoint subordinate naval officers for the ports of New Haven, New London, Middletown, and Norwalk. Duncan Stewart, the British collector, was still in New London, having been forbidden to leave the town unless the governor should give him permission. He was granted, upon parole, permission to visit New York in 1776 and in June, 1777, was granted a passport to return to England. This lenient treatment infuriated the people of New

London, and on one occasion when supplies were being sent him from New York, the mob seized and made a bonfire of them. The ringleaders were promptly arrested and jailed but a mob broke down the jail doors and released them. The local authorities did not feel themselves strong enough to attempt to recommit them and they went free.

Stewart, when he returned to England, requested permission to take with him the goods of Dr. Thomas Moffat, the former naval officer. At first this permission was granted but, when it became known that Dr. Moffat had taken up arms against the colonies, it was countermanded. Stewart, however, was permitted to take his remaining possessions with him and he departed in July, 1777. With him went the hopes of ever again enforcing British rule in Connecticut.

XIV

THE leading events in the colonial trade of Connecticut have been sketched, exhibiting the nature, extent, and volume of this trade. It has been shown that throughout the colonial period trade was always subordinate to agriculture. The reasons for this are clear. Except for the towns on the rivers and on Long Island Sound the Connecticut communities were isolated from trade routes. The roads were hardly worthy of that name and transportation was dependent upon oxen and horses. Another factor which limited the possibilities of a large volume of trade was the absence of a surplus. The Connecticut farms were rocky, the land except in the river valleys not fertile. The average inland farmer could produce only enough for his own needs and in the exceptional case of a small surplus the difficulty of sending it to the market

cut possible profits to the point where the return was not commensurable to the effort involved.

Connecticut never developed a great commercial center as did New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The trend was always centrifugal rather than centripetal. As soon as a settlement did reach a size where a large commercial center might have been established migration began and new isolated towns were formed. While this tendency to split off and establish new centers was common to all New England communities it seems to have been more pronounced in Connecticut than elsewhere. While there were at least a dozen towns that attained some importance as shipbuilding and commercial centers they were the exceptions to the rule. By the close of the colonial period the normal small agricultural communities numbered well over fifty out of the sixty-eight towns in the colony.

Connecticut's colonial trade as compared with that of the neighboring colonies was so small as to be almost negligible. It was practically limited to the exportation of a small surplus of various agricultural products and to the importation of such household and farm necessities as could not be produced or manufactured at home. For that reason it had an influence upon the life of the colony that was insignificant as compared with the basic importance of agriculture.

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The Literature of Connecticut

STANLEY THOMAS WILLIAMS

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LI

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I

THE first significant group of American men of letters took form in the state of Connecticut. The Connecticut Wits (or the Hartford Wits), as they were called, have diminished in stature since their halcyon period at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, but they still live, in two ways. They remain historically important in American literature as pioneers; and they reflect memorably the modes and criteria of their epoch. In such a study as this, the Wits should, therefore, be mentioned first of all. Although a critic has made the amusing comment: "If these were the *wits* of Connecticut, what were the other members of the community?"; although, almost immediately, other groups arose and outshone them, notably in Philadelphia, New York, Cambridge, and Concord; although their influence was often more political and social than belletristic; they were, nevertheless, the first closely knit coterie of men with literary talent in America. Before them and after them, in Connecticut, in spite of the appearance of talented individuals, there was disunity. Only during

their brief moment can one speak accurately of a literature of Connecticut.

For, prior to the Revolution, the writing of Connecticut lay under the blight which affected all American literature; it was subordinated to stubborn factual records or to religion. Before 1700, indeed, it hardly existed. There was not, as in Massachusetts, a university; there was not, as in New York, a centralizing thriving seaport. The frontier was active, imperious. A thousand duties and dangers precluded writing. Literature could not flourish on such a soil. Even in the three quarters of a century just prior to the Revolution, *belles-lettres* were, for the most part, a luxury forbidden to men engaged in founding a new nation. This was true of the colonies as a whole, and in particular of Connecticut, where the strongholds of Calvinism were almost the last to fall.

As for the literary disunity after the short career of the Connecticut Wits, this was apparent in a certain mobility in the men of letters, a characteristic not peculiar to Connecticut, but especially evident in a locality so distinctly a middle ground between the capitals of Boston and New York. It was natural for the gifted Fitz-Greene Halleck to migrate in 1811 not to New Haven, where conservative forces merely tolerated literature, or to Hartford, which by then the Wits themselves had abandoned, but to New York, famous as a literary lodestone through Washington Irving and the Knickerbockers. Drawn by still more powerful magnets Amos Bronson Alcott left Cheshire to live in Concord. After the passing of the Connecticut Wits the state had no inevitable focus or meeting place for men of letters. Distinguished writers were born, were educated, or lived for a time in Connecticut, but few identified their careers wholly with one place, as did Emerson with Concord or Longfellow with

Cambridge. No circles of poets, novelists, and historians throve in a particular town to make it be called the Hub of the Solar System. Connecticut claimed Cooper in boyhood during his short stay at Yale; and Mark Twain lived, during the latter part of his career, at Hartford and at Redding. This is typical. Aside from the Wits, the greatest writers of Connecticut have been but intermittently hers, and, unlike Massachusetts with her Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, Holmes, and others, Connecticut has shared her men of letters with other states.

Yet this hardly matters. Most writers who lived in Connecticut fell under her spell, and save Cooper, who always laughed at Yankees, and except Mark Twain, who remained homesick for his beloved Mississippi, drew something from her scenery, from her traditions, or from her friendly, shrewd life in village and town. Connecticut, Sachem Wood, Salmon River, Canaan, Edgewood, *Qui transtulit*—Connecticut names and phrases echo through the writings of even the most vagabond of these authors. Connecticut became an essential part of them, and as Massachusetts may still claim the metropolitan Bryant as her son, so Alcott, Edward Rowland Sill, and Charles Dudley Warner, despite their wanderings, belong to Connecticut. With these facts in mind, then, let the story be told: first, of the predecessors of the Connecticut Wits; then, of the Wits themselves who momentarily arrested and expressed the eighteenth-century cultural traditions of their vicinage; and finally, of their successors who, building on their Connecticut heritage and associations, were parts of the national literature.

II

THE first are few indeed. Thomas Hooker, one of the founders of the colony, bluntly excluded himself from the

company of literary men. "As it is beyond my skill," he declared in a preface, "so I profess it is beyond my care to please the niceness of men's palates with any quaintness of language. . . ." Yet Hooker's prose has the natural strength and lucidity often discernible in the writings of men of action. In *The soule's humiliation* (1637) and in his thirty other books Hooker wrote austere of God and of man's duty. Cotton Mather's comment on Hooker was unjust. In his writing, at least, he was not the "bawling Hooker," but akin to Winthrop, Bradford, and the Massachusetts historians of the Puritans; he was severe, strong, writing for those who love thought—"man's meat, no food for babes." Hooker wins a place in this essay chiefly through his eminence, but, to name one other writer of the colony's first century, Roger Wolcott (1679-1767) deserves mention as Connecticut's earliest poet for the fifteen hundred lines of his *Poetical meditations* (1725) and for his stately recital of the interview between John Winthrop, Jr., and the king, in London. A better general and governor than poet, Wolcott wooed a bleak and unresponsive muse. Literature, as said, did not appear during the first century in New England.

Nor did the greatest philosophical mind in America in the eighteenth century produce literature except indirectly. Jonathan Edwards' story has been told too many times to be repeated here. Born in East Windsor in 1703, he was graduated from Yale in 1720, where he was for a time a "pillar tutor," but he passed the most fruitful part of his life at Northampton, Massachusetts. Yet, wherever he lived, he comes back into memory not as the man of letters, but as the divine, preaching quietly his relentless sermons until members of the congregation cried: "Mr. Edwards, forbear!"; or composing his mighty treatise, *The freedom of the will*; or, more particularly,

walking in the fields near the college, ecstatic with the experience of the mystic. Hostile to certain forms of literature, with eyes fixed upon the pure and endless light of eternity, coldly logical, he wrote, and because he was Edwards what he wrote could not help being, in a sense, literature. In it were fibre of thought, force of expression, and, occasionally, as in his pictures of the Last Judgment, splendor of imagination.

III

SUCH were the grim *avant-courriers* of the Connecticut literature of the late eighteenth century, and upon the Connecticut Wits, too, who then appeared, rested the shadow of the tottering Calvinism which Edwards had upheld. The members of the clique differed widely. Timothy Dwight, the theologian's grandson, traveled toward the opposite pole from Joel Barlow, who became Jeffersonian and Jacobinical, but the group represented, on the whole, the conservative forces of the old religion and the intrenched oligarchical politics which had resisted, with Yale as their nexus, far more tenaciously than the Massachusetts thinkers, the onslaughts of democratic thought. The liberal tide was rising fast. The aristocratic reaction after the Revolution was short-lived. Jefferson was determined that the equality of mankind, for which theoretically Americans had fought, should not be lost by resurgent bonds with conservative forces in Europe, by concentration of wealth as in these Connecticut centers, by a hidebound Federalism in both religion and politics. But the Connecticut leaders thought otherwise. Dwight, angered by the post-Revolutionary materialism and by the mobocracy of the time, contin-

¹For further account, see Annie R. Marble, *The Hartford Wits* (no. LIX in this series).

ued to preach sound Calvinism and sound Federalism, while the political satires of the group, *The anarchiad* (1786) and *The political greenhouse* (1799), denounced the radicals and their shambling theories of government.

Such was the mood of the Wits. Such opinions bound them together more closely than their love of literature, which was incidental and which was as conservative as their fiscal policies. Such was their attitude, save in the case of one or two liberals such as Barlow. It was characteristic of the epoch that the mother, so to speak, of the first literary group was politics. But the immediate concern is rather with the impingements, often accidental, of this group upon literature, and with the personalities in this first American apprenticeship to organized literature. They were well-read gentry, these Wits, in a hearty, eupeptic fashion. They met with mild conviviality in Hartford, at The Bunch of Grapes or at The Black Horse Tavern. The reader, to see them in these friendly offhand moods, should turn to Mr. Francis Parsons's engaging study, "The friendly club." Here "Gallant Humphreys charm'd the list'ning throng." Here Joel Barlow, who so described his tie-wig friend, argued on the rights of man, unaware that he was, after a long career in Europe, to die on December 24, 1812, at Zarnovitch, Poland, with the sound of Napoleon's retreating troops in his ears. Here came John Trumbull, less weighty, but more brilliant, a deft satirist. Here for-gathered others, Noah Webster the lexicographer, Theodore Dwight, Lemuel Hopkins, Richard Alsop, Elihu Smith, Mason Cogswell, and, in particular, Timothy Dwight, who in this lighter mood perhaps conceived the couplet which has outlived his epics:

Why streams the life-blood from that female's throat?
She sprinkled gravy on a guest's new coat!

IV

IN spite of the solidity of these young men, Romance was to have her way with at least two of them, David Humphreys and Joel Barlow. Humphreys, born in Derby in 1752, attended Yale in company with Trumbull and Dwight. He was a good soldier, and after active service with General Parsons and with Putnam, whose lupine adventure he celebrated, he became the aide-de-camp of Washington, who appreciated his "excellent heart, good nature . . . sterling integrity . . . sobriety." Later Humphreys used these gifts, which he really possessed, in the Connecticut legislature, in diplomatic missions in Portugal and Spain, and in services to agriculture, as practical as they were picturesque. Across Spain he brought his merino sheep, across the Atlantic he sailed with them, and up the Housatonic to Derby! He was Connecticut's own Jason—with differences.

In Humphreys' taste for literature appeared in epitome the point of view of this first literary group. Success was first, and literature second, a philosophy which lingered on in utilitarian America until Washington Irving could refer at the end of his life to writing as merely "a little gentlemanlike exercise of the pen." Humphreys, next to good farming, admired what he called "polish'd manners and the illumined mind." While with Washington in Virginia he composed a naïve, patriotic poem in honor of the General which he called "Mount Vernon." His titles define the proper spheres of activity, in his opinion, for the "illumined mind": *A poem addressed to the armies of the United States* (1780); *The glory of America* (1783); *A poem on the happiness of America* (1786); *A poem on industry, addressed to the citizens of the United States* (1794). Humphreys composed poetry as he led his troops, im-

petuously and without self-criticism, but occasionally writing of the Connecticut scene he was gently persuasive, as in the following winter-piece, not unworthy, perhaps, of Whittier:

Nor then, unjoyous, Winter's rigors come,
But find them happy and content with home;
Their gran'ries filled—the task of culture past—
Warm at their fire, they hear the howling blast,
With patt'ring rain and snow, or driving sleet,
Rave idly loud, and at their window beat:
Safe from its rage, regardless of its roar,
In vain the tempest rattles at the door;
The tame brute sheltered, and the feathered brood
From them, more provident, demand their food.

In all virtues, save perhaps those of the soldier, Humphreys was surpassed by the versatile and thoughtful Joel Barlow whose character, as revealed in the recent biography by Mr. T. A. Zunder, presents enigmatic lights and shades lacking in the brash Humphreys. At Yale in 1778 he was class poet. Though patriotic as army chaplain, he had not settled, like his more Calvinistic friends, all the problems of the cosmos. He could begin, even in these years, his mammoth poem, *The vision of Columbus* (1787), but he was capable of a romantic love experience, and as he grew into the businessman and statesman of the later period, he evidently continued to do his own thinking, a fault not attributable to all the other Wits. No longer a translator of the Psalms, he helped to organize the Scioto Land Company. No longer a listener to the anti-radical discourse at The Bunch of Grapes, he wrote his *Advice to the privileged orders* (1792–1793), and was made a French citizen. He translated Volney's *Ruins* (1802); he built Kalorama, his prodigious mansion in Rock Creek Park, Washington;

he was sent to Napoleon in behalf of American commerce; and he is still remembered as a liberal spirit.

Barlow loved literature, and his aims for that of his own country merit respect. His *Columbiad* (1807), the butt of innumerable jests, for its length, for its pompous verses, for its almost comic solemnity, as he discussed Danbury, Norwalk, or the Connecticut river, or as he soared heavily upward in his prophecy of America's future, was, nevertheless, a memorable book. Apart from its energy and optimism, it was a landmark in an endeavor which was to reach its climax in Emerson's *The American scholar* (1837). In the long battle for intellectual independence, in the earnest, if bourgeois, passion to create a literature worthy of America, Barlow had a part. Volatile as he was, he had convictions on this point—convictions that today have had a measure of fulfilment. Let the reader glance at the appended passage from the *Columbiad*, to see Barlow at his worst:

Columbus turn'd; when rolling to the shore
Swells o'er the sea an undulating roar;
Slow, dark, portentous, as the meteors sweep,
And curtain black the illimitable deep,
High stalks, from surge to surge, a demon Form,
That howls through heaven and breathes a billowing storm.
His head is hung with clouds; his giant hand
Flings a blue flame far flickering to the land;
His blood-stain'd limbs drip carnage as he strides,
And taint with gory grume the staggering tides;
Like two red suns, his quivering eyeballs glare,
His mouth disgorges all the stores of war,
Pikes, muskets, mortars, guns and globes of fire,
And lightened bombs that fusing trails expire.
Percht on his helmet, two twin sisters rode,
The favorite offspring of the murderous god,
Famine and Pestilence; whom whilom bore
His wife, grim Discord, on Trinacria's shore;

When first their Cyclop sons, from Etna's forge,
Fill'd his foul magazine, his gaping gorge;
Then earth convulsive groan'd, high shriek'd the air,
And hell in gratulation call'd him War.

Then, to perceive another side of Barlow, read his tribute to polenta or Indian meal in the delightful lines of *The basty-pudding* (1796):

There is a choice in spoons. Tho' small appear
The nice distinction, yet to me 'tis clear,
The deep bowl'd Gallic spoon, contriv'd to scoop
In ample draughts the thin diluted soup,
Performs not well in those substantial things,
Whose mass adhesive to the metal clings;
Where the strong labial muscles must embrace
The gentle curve, and sweep the hollow space.
With ease to enter and discharge the freight,
A bowl less concave, but still more dilate,
Becomes the pudding best
Fear not to slaver; 'tis no deadly sin.
Like the free Frenchman, from your joyous chin
Suspend the ready napkin; or, like me,
Poise with one hand your bowl upon your knee;
Just in the zenith your wise head preject,
Your full spoon, rising in a line direct,
Bold as a bucket, heeds no drops that fall,
The widemouth'd bowl will surely catch them all.

V

No such picturesque career as Humphreys' and Barlow's awaited intellectual John Trumbull. Yet legends have gathered about his youthful precocity: that he could recite the entire *New England primer*; that he passed the entrance examinations for Yale at the age of seven; that he matriculated, after a prudent delay, at thirteen. Born in Westbury (now Watertown) in 1750, he sustained a real intellectual life until the year 1831, when

Irving and Cooper were at the height of their fame. For the first time, in this study, the history of a writer is also the history of a truly literary mind. In college Trumbull read widely; his models were eighteenth-century English poets. In 1772 he published Part I of *The progress of dulness*, whose octosyllabics still offer an occasional witty couplet, such as

For he that drinks till all things reel,
Sees double, and that's twice as well.

Trumbull's learning and wit found fullest expression in *M'Fingal* (1775; 1782), his lively satire on the Tories. *M'Fingal* is still salty. At the town meeting Squire M'Fingal declaims until he achieves his suit of tar and feathers:

Forthwith the crowd proceed to deck
With halter'd noose M'Fingal's neck, . . .
Then lifting high th' pond'rous jar,
Pour'd o'er his head the smoking tar . . .
His flowing wig, as next the brim,
First met and drank the sable stream; . . .
From nose and chin's remotest end,
The tarry icicles depend;
Till all o'erspread, with colors gay
He glitter'd to the western ray,
Like sleet-bound trees in wintry skies,
Or Lapland idol carved in ice.
And now the feather-bag display'd,
Is wav'd in triumph o'er his head,
And spreads him o'er with feathers missive,
And down upon the tar adhesive.

Arid stretches prevent a favorable comparison of this poem with *Hudibras*, and its surface satire lacks the insight which lifts such writing from the local and temporary into the enduring penetration of human nature, but

the sting of its lines still lingers, and the thirty editions of *M'Fingal* in its own time attest the authentic wit of John Trumbull.

Like Barlow in breadth of interest, like Humphreys in his conception of a national literature, like Trumbull in his love of learning, but unlike them all in his fervid moral zeal, Timothy Dwight, brilliant undergraduate, tutor, and president of Yale, outtopped these others in dignity and depth of character. After resigning his chaplaincy in the army, he returned to Northampton, his boyhood home, for a time, but later was settled at Greenfield Hill in Fairfield as minister for a dozen years until he became the head of his college in 1795. In his battle for the old faith against the atheism of his age, Dwight has a distinct place in the history of American thought. But was he, as a critic declared, as a poet "little inferior to any of his contemporaries in America"? Perhaps. This would not be high praise. He was certainly a sedulous imitator, and Goldsmith and Thomson may have been on his table as he composed his verse. In hymn and patriotic anthem he sometimes struck fire, but his epic, *The conquest of Canaan* (1785), and *Greenfield Hill* (1794) are dilute and unconvincing, and his *Triumph of infidelity* (1788), with its dedication to Voltaire, seems an obsolete and provincial impertinence. Yet how delightful he was as he related in prose his impressions of his native land! A candid and loyal spirit, Dwight felt, like Hawthorne, a genuine love of these few colonies beside the sea. Voltaire and the world of Europe he did not begin to comprehend. The real and gentler Dwight may be found in his *Travels in New-England and New-York* (1821-1822).

Enough has been said, perhaps, to indicate the basic unity, in spite of conflicts of opinion and personality, of the Wits. They may be left now, after glances at Theo-

dore Dwight (1764-1846, resident of Hartford, the brother of Timothy, and the father of Theodore Dwight, the poet), at Richard Alsop (1761-1815, resident of Middletown), and, especially, at Dr. Lemuel Hopkins (1750-1801), welcome after these serious fellows for "his reckless levity of expression." Hopkins was born in Waterbury, studied at Wallingford, and practised medicine in Litchfield and Hartford. Less interested in the future of America than in the ravages of tuberculosis, he proposed a cure, but his humanity did not extend to the spurious members of his profession. In his "Epitaph on a patient killed by a cancer quack" he noted in easy verse the excrescence

Which, gnawing on with fiery pace
Devoured one broadside of his face.

The denouement is in lines which David Humphreys never could have written:

Here lies a fool flat on his back,
The victim of a cancer quack
Who lost his money and his life,
By plaster, caustic, and by knife.
The case was this—a pimple rose
South-east a little of his nose;
Which daily reddened and grew bigger
As too much drinking gave it vigor.

Certainly Hopkins' brother physician, Mason Fitch Cogswell (1761-1830, resident of Hartford), could not have done as well, nor could Richard Alsop with his *Conquest of Scandinavia* (1793) and his poem on George Washington (1800), nor Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith (1771-1798) of Litchfield, who compiled the first American anthology in 1793. Hopkins' verses indicate the inclination among the Wits, not merely toward the grandiose aims of Humphreys, Barlow, and Dwight, but toward

poetry as a kindly, witty instrument for daily incidents and humble foibles. Such were the "Pleiades of Connecticut," and, all in all, the state has not seen their equals since they flourished more than a century ago.

VI

INDEED, by 1825 consanguinity of purpose disappeared. Communications between the states broke down the idiosyncrasies of the snug little Connecticut community. Calvinism faded; new political parties formed; new national aspirations grew; and Connecticut was absorbed in the growing nationalism of the country. More and more the state harbored writers who, sooner or later, departed to be famous elsewhere. At Yale Augustus Baldwin Longstreet (1790-1870) told tales of his native South, and later published them as *Georgia scenes* (1840). Here, too, studied Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806-1867), but drifted off to New York to become the disciple of Washington Irving. Francis Miles Finch (1827-1907), author of "The Blue and the Gray," Robert Kelley Weeks (1840-1876), Lewis Frank Tooker (1854-1925), Charles DeKay (1848-), Robert Cameron Rogers (1862-1912), Arthur Willis Colton (1868-)-all had more or less definite associations with Connecticut. The list becomes catalogic, but it should also include Sylvester Judd (1813-1853), author of the transcendentalist novel, *Margaret* (1845); Eugene Schuyler (1840-1890), the diplomat and short-story writer; Clarence King (1842-1901), author of *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (1872); and Ehrman Syme Nadal (1843-1922), with his *Impressions of London social life* (1875) and *A Virginia village* (1917).

Turn over the old anthologies, so indifferent to the verdicts of posterity in their omission of such writers as

Poe, and the abundance, if not the distinction, of writing in Connecticut in the first half of the nineteenth century becomes apparent. Forgotten now, many Connecticut writers had then their momentary fame: in Salisbury was born William Ray (1771-1827), author of *Tripoli*; in Guilford, George Hill (1796-1871), with his *Ruins of Athens* (1831); in North Stamford, Edward Augustus McLaughlin (1798-1861); in Stratford, Prosper Montgomery Wetmore (1798-1876); and a score of others must be nameless in this short essay. It is necessary even to pass over, as temporary dwellers in Connecticut, the Beechers (associated with Litchfield), including Harriet Beecher Stowe (1812-1896), whose earlier and later years were spent in Connecticut. What state may claim *Uncle Tom's Cabin*? Or Jared Sparks (1789-1866), born in Willington, but later editor of the *North American review* and president of Harvard College? Or John Fiske (1842-1901), the philosopher and historian, born in Hartford but long a resident in Cambridge?

The fact is, that apart from a few prose writers, who will be mentioned at the close of this essay, the most characteristic medium of literary expression in Connecticut during the nineteenth century was poetry. Yet the search is in vain for a poet of the first or second rank; instead one finds imitators in the sentimental tradition, and rarely, as in the case of James Gates Percival, a genuine if limited poetic talent. John Pierpont (1785-1866), for example, born at Litchfield and graduated from Yale, wrote in monotonous heroic couplets his *Airs of Palestine* (1840). His lachrymose stanzas are tolerable only in such a lyric as "My child," and even this poem invites a dangerous comparison with Emerson's "Threnody." Little more may be said of the poetry of James Abraham Hillhouse (1789-1841), associated with New

Haven. In spite of Willis' declaration that reading Hill-house was "the opening of a new heaven of the imagination," it is difficult to find in these masques (*The judgment*, 1821; *Demetria*, 1839) and oriental dramas (*Hadad*, 1825), other than what Dr. Charles A. Beard has called the products of a "mercantile culture." Connecticut poetry of this epoch is, indeed, happier when it avoids the lofty theme and sounding line and is content to record the simple moods arising naturally from the contemplation of actual surroundings. For this reason John Gardiner Calkins Brainard's (1796-1828) little volume of *Occasional pieces of poetry* (1825) is worth a dozen *Hadads*. Brainard, whose home was in New London and who lived to be only thirty-two, was a sensitive, sincere spirit, writing of the Connecticut and Salmon rivers gracefully and well.

Brainard, like all Connecticut, was fond of the "Sweet Singer of Hartford," Lydia Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865), who, in the histories of literature, is still a symbol of pious, moral verse. Mrs. Sigourney, whose story has been recently told by Mr. Gordon S. Haight, was a direct product of a nineteenth-century mood now incomprehensible to our more realistic, ironic era. Its causes are obscure: the conventional religion, the limited knowledge of science, the aftermath of eighteenth-century sentimentalism, Byronism. In both England and America, the mezzotint, the pressed rose-leaf, the gift-book, the wax flower, the faded cheek, the dying infant were all stage properties for a wistful, tender view of life that seems to have drawn into its seas of tears not merely lonely spinsters but robust men—witness the taint of this infection in Prescott the historian. Born in Norwich, Mrs. Sigourney began in childhood her long career of vacuous virtue. At the age of twenty-four she issued her *Moral*

pieces (1815). Soon there followed book after book on tombstones, widows, brides, olive buds, and water drops. Her epitaphs became so famous and so numerous that she was accused of having added a new terror to death. Yet it is wiser to study Mrs. Sigourney than to laugh at her, for in the immense popularity of her poetry is an index to the immature cultural standards of her epoch.

Two poets, though themselves not free from self-pity, were by contrast with Mrs. Sigourney robust. Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790–1867), who after a boyhood in Guilford made his home for many years in New York, echoed Byron in “Alnwick Castle” (1827), but his tongue had a whip and his pen a lash. His satirical verses, *The Croaker papers* (1819), and his humorous poem, “Fanny” (1819), won him among the Knickerbockers leadership as a wit not unlike that held by Washington Irving a decade earlier. Apart from his fiery “Marco Bozzaris” (1827), which our fathers declaimed in school, there is still life and vigor in Halleck, and his biography by Mr. Nelson F. Adkins shows him to have been a cultivated man of the world. It is defensible to call him, excepting the Wits, the most distinguished Connecticut poet.

He is, however, far less fascinating as a person than “our own Percival,” James Gates Percival (1795–1856), physician, geologist, lexicographer, and poet. Mr. H. R. Warfel’s recent researches reveal his learning, especially in languages; his high standards of scholarship; his true poetic gifts. It is difficult to subscribe to Whittier’s tribute: “God pity the man who does not love the poetry of Percival,” but he is, nevertheless, as Whittier added, a “singular and high-minded poet.” To understand Percival one should first look at his portrait: the sharply cut features, the wild eyes, the intensely eager yet melancholy expression, so characteristic of his unhappy life.

Born in Kensington, he entered Yale in 1811, and straightway stories clustered about him. He posted verses on a college building, and then listened for criticism; he purchased a pistol with which to commit suicide; he refused to admit Longfellow, who journeyed from Cambridge to see this new literary portent; he lived in dirty rooms surrounded by the finest private library in Connecticut. He was not, in the words of the too-fluent Willis "the purest and the most mere man of genius possible to our race," but he had, as Lowell declared "defeat worked into his very constitution." Yet his own words describe him best: "I know not how it is, but I cannot rest: I am eternally harassed by the fear that darkens the future. I sometimes wish intensely that I could find some fairy pilot to guide me on to my destined haven."

As so often is the case of unhappy genius, that "haven" was a modest fame with posterity. Most of Percival's poetry will, of course, remain forgotten. It is diffuse, excited, uneven. But Percival possessed, unlike some of his watery contemporaries, imaginative power and, at times, the gift of intense condensation. The customary winnowing of two exceptional poems from Percival's volumes is, perhaps, wise. "To Seneca Lake" may live, and certainly passages in "The coral grove," once read, linger in the mind. Of the mysterious submarine caverns Percival sang:

The water is calm and still below,
For the waves and winds are absent there,
And the sands are bright as the stars that glow
In the motionless fields of upper air:
There, with its waving blade of green
The sea-flag streams through the silent water,
And the crimson leaf of the dulse is seen

To blush, like a banner bathed in slaughter:
Then with light and easy motion,
The fan-coral sweeps through the clear, deep sea;
And the yellow and scarlet tufts of ocean
Are bending like corn on the upland lea.

VII

THE Civil War, which Percival escaped, elicited from both the North and the South a substantial body of poetry and prose. Connecticut's only significant contributions were through Henry Howard Brownell (1820-1872) and Theodore Winthrop (1828-1861). Brownell, born in Providence, was graduated from Trinity College and lived for long periods of his life at Hartford. A friend of Farragut, he chronicled the battle of Mobile Bay in a swiftly moving lyric, "The river fight." Winthrop, New Haven born and New Haven bred, one of the first Northern officers to die in the war, lives chiefly as a romantic memory. "For one moment," wrote George William Curtis, "that brave inspiring form is plainly visible to his whole country, rapt and calm, standing on the log nearest the enemy's battery." In the novels, *Cecil Dreeme* (1861), *John Brent* (1862), and *The canoe and the saddle* (1862), there are echoes of Winthrop's gallant life.

During the last quarter of the century the poetry of Connecticut had effective representatives in Edward Rowland Sill (1841-1887) and Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833-1908). Both these were bookish men. Sill, whose later career led him to the University of California as professor of English literature, revealed his sincere, intellectual quest of truth in "The prayer." Stedman, a more forceful spirit, after an enforced withdrawal from Yale, returned to his alma mater twice to receive hon-

orary degrees. An editor of mountainous anthologies and "libraries" of literature, Stedman was also a capable though not a distinguished critic. As a poet he belongs in the conventional tradition of English verse. He was an earnest, tireless, competent man of letters.

Perhaps the chronicle grows tedious. Certainly that disunity of aim, already described, becomes evident. For the thin, dry stream of literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has become in the nineteenth a river, not deep but broad, bearing along innumerable authors. These are linked to national tendencies by inescapable ties, but are distinguished by no indigenous traits which can properly be called Connecticut's. Since the first quarter of the nineteenth century minor writer has followed minor writer. Both poetry and prose have afforded examples: Henry Clay Work (1832-1884), George Denison Prentice (1802-1870), Emma Hart Willard (1787-1870), Rose Terry Cooke (1827-1892)—all natives of Connecticut. So was Horace Bushnell, distinguished in theological study and in philosophical essay. Bronson Alcott (1799-1888), born in Wolcott, wandered off to Concord. Mark Twain (1835-1910) came to Hartford. Samuel Griswold Goodrich (1793-1860), born in Ridgefield, became a Massachusetts magazinist. Donald Grant Mitchell ("Ik Marvel," 1822-1908), living at Edgewood, near New Haven, wrote his readable *Reveries of a bachelor* (1850) and other reminiscent essays in the manner of Irving. Charles Dudley Warner (1829-1900) settled in Hartford, to know Mark Twain, and to write *Being a boy* (1877) and other tranquil papers.

VIII

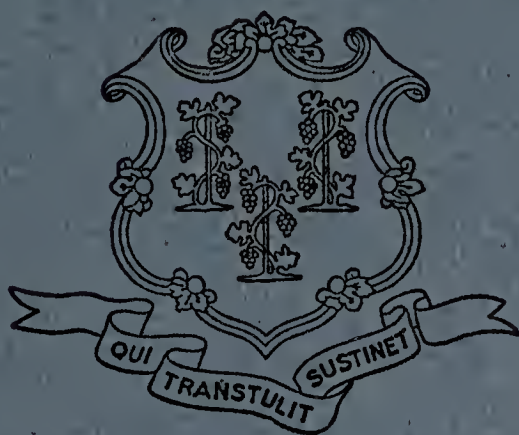
HERE are, then, in the library, hundreds of books, from Wolcott to Warner, the records of three centuries of

Connecticut's cultural experience. What sediment remains? First, it must be admitted that in these volumes there is not, so to speak, any distinct state-consciousness—no absorbing desire to write definitely for and about Connecticut. Any attempt to limit the literature of Connecticut to an entity with special characteristics must fail. To find such peculiar traits one must turn to less seasoned communities—to the literature, for example, of Indiana or of Louisiana, whose nineteenth-century literatures bear the imprint of a nativistic point of view toward life. The reason for this is clear. The full flavor of Connecticut as a community peculiar to itself reached its peak in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Then there existed a rural life, self-sustained, compact, and self-sufficient. Yet the writers capable of describing this community adequately had not yet been born. And when they had appeared, the essential modes of the old, rural Connecticut had faded, dissolved necessarily from its geographical situation into the larger whole. Hence the only pictures of the essential Connecticut of the eighteenth century occur in the writings of the Wits (not a complete picture it is true, but the best available), and also in the humorous exaggeration of its neighbors, as in Irving's vignettes in *A history of New York*. In contrast, Louisiana and Indiana, to repeat the examples, retained their essential characteristics coincident with the writing of modern literature. But recent Connecticut writers have dealt with a civilized and urbanized community or with subjects not peculiar to the state. Thus the true, the old Connecticut has entered into literature but faintly, incidentally, inconclusively.

Yet looking at the poetry and prose of the writers who have had associations with Connecticut one can hardly regret this fact. It is something to have been the cause of

literature in others. It is something to have given Bronson Alcott to Massachusetts, to have bestowed Willis on New York, to have educated (partly) Cooper, to have calmed and civilized the older Mark Twain. The literature of the Western states, even if it is more closely knit with their actual life, can point to no such seminal power. The literature of Connecticut early partook of the deeper cultural experiences of the nation, and such mergence of the local into the national in literature is a proof of the state's rapid growth in the things of the mind.

TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT



COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

LII

*The History of Tobacco Production
in Connecticut*

ADRIAN FRANCIS McDONALD

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
BY THE YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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*The History of Tobacco Production
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I

TOBACCO growing is one of the oldest means of earning a livelihood in Connecticut. Records show conclusively that the aborigines of the Connecticut valley understood the more fundamental features of tobacco production and consumption as practised today.

Tobacco growing by the Indians was a very crude process, as indeed was all agriculture at that time. Tobacco was the only crop raised by the red men which was cared for by the males of the family. The men alone tended the crop and smoked it. Little is known of the methods of culture, but they only dimly foreshadowed present-day systems. Apparently some tribes had permanent beds which received but little attention other than an occasional application of manure. It is known, however, that tobacco was grown apart from other crops as it was believed to harm them.

In the agriculture of Connecticut, tobacco production has averaged well over thirty-three per cent of the total

crop value since 1923, although, at the same time, hay and corn greatly exceeded it in acreage. During the five years, 1923-1927, the tobacco value per acre was almost double that of any other crop; in 1928 it was more than three times that of potatoes; and in 1929 it was substantially more than double the value of potatoes, the second most valuable Connecticut crop per acre.

Not only is tobacco important to the growers themselves but also to the thousands of workers who depend upon each year's crop for their livelihood. It is impossible to determine the actual number of workers who are directly or indirectly dependent upon the Connecticut leaf tobacco industry. However, unofficial estimates fix the number of full and part-time employees on tobacco plantations at seven thousand. Those indirectly connected with the industry number tens of thousands. They include cigar-makers, employees of fertilizer plants and of cotton mills, cigar-box makers, wholesalers of leaf and cigars, and even clerks in neighborhood cigar stores.

II

THERE is no historical record of the first white man to grow tobacco in Connecticut, but there is evidence that tobacco was raised at Windsor as early as 1640. In all probability, therefore, the first white tobacco grower was one of the original settlers. The leaf grown by the early colonists was the same as that raised by the Connecticut valley Indians for many years prior to the settlement by white men. According to contemporary historians it was variously called *poke* or *ottomauch*. The small round leaves of the Indian type were different from those which were early brought to the valley from Virginia. This latter variety had been introduced into Virginia from the West Indies in 1607. Dislike by the early New Eng-

landers of the bitter taste of the native tobacco led to the substitution of the West Indian type for the original Indian variety.

The principal use of tobacco by the Indians was for smoking in a pipe. Ordinarily the leaves and flowers of the plant were cured and mixed with sumac leaves and other ingredients, according to particular tribal formulae, and smoked in pipes. The pipe-smoking habit was adopted by the colonists who soon, however, began to discontinue the use of Indian tobacco and substitute the new leaf brought in from Virginia. The second known method of consuming tobacco was to roll the leaves into cigars and smoke it in that manner. This habit was known to exist among the Indians but was of less importance than pipe smoking. Nothing like the modern cigar, however, was known in New England until after 1760. Roger Williams reported that tobacco was largely used for smoking but one kind was steeped and the "decoction" drunk. Little is known of this method of tobacco consumption.

In 1640 occurred the first legislation in the Connecticut colony relative to the use of tobacco. This legislation was patterned after that of Massachusetts, which preceded it. Briefly stated, the law of 1640 provided that no one in Connecticut should "drinke" any tobacco except that which "shall be planted within these libertyes," unless that person had license to do so. The penalty for violation of the statute was five shillings "for every pownd so spent." In 1646 this law was repealed and apparently the use of tobacco rapidly increased for in 1647 another was passed to lessen the abuse of the drug. In part it prohibited the use of tobacco to all under twenty years, and all others who had not already accustomed themselves to it, except on presentation of a certificate from some one

“approued for knowledg & skill in phisicke, that it is usefull for him.” The first part of the above law has its modern counterpart in present-day tobacco legislation for minors and the second section had a recent version in liquor laws permitting physicians to prescribe alcoholic spirits to patients during the years of prohibition. The act of 1647 further provided that no one should use the weed publicly or in the “fyelds or woods” unless he were traveling at least ten miles. Nor was one allowed to take tobacco in any house in his own town in company with more than one other who “useth or drinketh the same weed, with him at that tyme.” Most of the controversy seems to have been waged over “drinking” tobacco and its ill effects, particularly idleness.

Until the eighteenth century most of the tobacco raised in Connecticut was for private use. Some was, however, grown for sale to neighbors. During the early period, tobacco was grown in most of the towns of the colony. With the increase in the production of tobacco for sale it became noticeable that the soil and climate in the valley of the Connecticut were better adapted to the cultivation of the leaf than in any other section of the colony. Consequently, production tended to concentrate along the Connecticut river, in an area not over ten miles to the east or west of the river and extending from the present Portland to South Hadley and Deerfield, Massachusetts, and even farther north.

By 1700, tobacco leaf was being produced in Connecticut for export. Most of this trade was developed in the present Hartford county, and more particularly in and around Windsor. In 1739 there was a record of the export of some “221 weight” of tobacco to Barbados by Timothy Loomis of Windsor. One of the leading citizens of Windsor, Ebenezer Grant, developed into a consider-

able trader in tobacco, both for export and domestic sale. In his account book he recorded that he purchased and raised several thousand pounds of tobacco between 1744 and 1767. Some of this leaf was sent to the Simpson brothers of Boston and some to the West Indies. Grant was not the only trader in tobacco for there were recorded shipments from Simsbury in 1750, and from Suffield to England in 1753. A record as early as 1704 showed that tobacco was one of the principal articles of trade between Wethersfield and the West Indies.

The growth and extent of Connecticut exports of tobacco were attested in 1753 by an act of the general assembly "to regulate the Curing and Packing of Tobacco, and prevent Fraud therein." This act provided for the selection of two or more qualified men, at the annual meetings of the towns in which tobacco was grown for export, to be surveyors and packers of tobacco. Briefly, their duties were to have complete charge of the inspection and packing of tobacco for export; to separate out all "hands" of tobacco which were damaged even in part; and to pack or press no tobacco which was not judged sound, well ripened and cured, and good and merchantable. The act further provided that each packer must initial each cask packed by himself and also stamp thereon the name of the town in which he lived. It also provided that he was not allowed, under severe penalty, to pack, press, or judge his own tobacco. For these services the packer or surveyor was to receive five pence per hundred weight so packed, and in addition three pence for every mile traveled in the performance of his duties. These fees were to be paid by the owner of the tobacco.

After the middle of the eighteenth century tobacco production in the Connecticut valley dropped off to a considerable extent. There were two main reasons for

this. The first was the periods of war which cut heavily into export trade. The second was the introduction of cheap plug and pressed tobacco from Virginia. During the years immediately following the Revolution production of tobacco increased until, in 1801, the total crop of the Connecticut valley was twenty thousand pounds—the most ever produced up to that time.

The position of importance occupied by Connecticut in the tobacco trade has been wholly due to the popularity of the cigar. Colonel Israel Putnam is generally credited with the introduction of cigars into Connecticut in 1762, upon his return from an expedition against Havana. At that time outcroppings of the new fad appeared in other parts of the world, particularly Germany. Once started, the cigar-smoking habit took hold instantly and increased by leaps and bounds. One plausible explanation of the popularity of the cigar in New England was its cheapness, for all people could afford to smoke. In Germany, on the other hand, only the moneyed and privileged classes could afford cigars.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth, in Connecticut, cigars were wholly a home product. Farmers' wives would fashion the crude cigars and they would be peddled by their husbands throughout the countryside in wagons, in conjunction with other articles of commerce.

Modern cigar-making in Connecticut was born in 1810 when Roswell Viets started a cigar factory at East Windsor and his brother, Samuel, one at Suffield. Samuel Viets hired a Cuban cigar-maker, and twelve women were immediately put to work to "learn the trade." By 1831 several other Suffield men had taken up the manufacture of cigars. During the same period the industry was developed in other parts of the state.

The earliest brands of commercial cigars were known as Supers, Windsor Particulars, and Long Nines. Other brands were rapidly developed, but the above, especially the Windsor Particulars, remained popular for years. These cigars were crude in comparison to the finished machine product of today. It was sometimes necessary to paste the wrapper to the filler as the system of winding was unknown. This is probably one of the reasons for the name of the immediate predecessor of the brands mentioned above—the Paste Segars.

The price of medium grades of cigars at that time was approximately the same as is today considered a normal profit to manufacturers. Storekeepers paid between one dollar and two dollars per thousand for cigars, and did the boxing and branding themselves. Today the normal manufacturer's profit for machine-made cigars of Class A or nickel variety averages between seventy-five cents and two dollars per thousand. Some, however, sold at a higher price in the early 1800's. Those known as half Spanish, wholesaling at four dollars per thousand, were retailed at one cent each.

Experiments made by B. P. Barber of East Windsor about 1830 with some Maryland seed produced a beautiful, finely textured, broad leaf, which was later developed into Connecticut broadleaf. This type was readily found to attract much attention as a wrapper for cigars, to substitute for the "shoestring" wrapper, a long narrow leaf, formerly grown in the valley. Fortune entered the picture at this point to give further impetus to the rapidly increasing popularity of Connecticut wrapper. About 1830 a shipment of tobacco from Warehouse Point to Germany was made in larger bundles than usual. During the trip the tobacco "sweated" and when unpacked for use it was found to be a completely changed and vastly better

leaf. Immediately following this discovery growers in Warehouse Point and Glastonbury commenced to treat their leaf in much the same manner, and the era of specialization in cigar-leaf tobacco in the Connecticut valley began.

III

THE method of sweating in conjunction with packing which was discovered about 1830, together with the increase in popularity of cigars a few years previously, marked the first great change in tobacco production in Connecticut. From that point onward the Connecticut, and also Massachusetts, farmers grew a particular type of leaf, namely, that which was suitable for cigar wrappers. Enormous profits were realized during the middle of the nineteenth century and people thought of tobacco as a bonanza. So great were the returns that production spread from Vermont to the mouth of the Connecticut river and even into Rhode Island and Maine. About 1850 tobacco was grown in New Haven county at Hamden but its leaves were so coarse and thick and of such poor quality that its production was soon discontinued. At that time also production was begun along the Housatonic river and it still continues to some extent in that valley, particularly in New Milford.

The specialization which was taking place during that period was one which had reference chiefly to the type of leaf grown rather than to the type of farm upon which it was raised. Although there were several exceptionally large tobacco growers in Connecticut at that time, such as the Loomises in Windsor, most of the leaf was grown on small farms and by individuals who also raised other crops. In this respect, the production of outdoor tobacco, as distinguished from shade-grown, is the same today. In

1925 and 1926 more than fifty per cent of the leaf was grown on farms of less than ten acres. It is a matter of common knowledge at present that the depression in the industry for the fifteen years after 1920 has resulted partly from the ease with which so many small farmers may enter the field at a moment's notice, produce from two to ten acres apiece of outdoor tobacco, and then leave the field when the market becomes glutted.

Methods of growing cigar-leaf have been changed very little from what they were between 1850 and 1860. In general, the first step was the preparation of the seed beds in which the small plants were grown from seed. The beds were almost always inclosed in glass to secure the maximum effect of the sun. When from four to six leaves had developed transplanting was begun. This usually took place in late May or early June, the exact time depending upon plant and weather conditions.

Formerly all the transplanting from bed to field was done by hand but for several years now it has been done by machines in Connecticut because of the relatively high labor costs. The transplanting machine used at present is, therefore, a mechanical improvement over the former method of first making the hole with a sharp instrument and then setting the plant in place by hand.

Several times during the early life of the plant the ground was hoed and cultivated to drive out weeds and keep the dirt loose. This work is still done largely by hand for it is relatively difficult to cultivate half-grown plants by machine even though the rows may be three feet apart and the plants separated in the rows by two feet. During the life of the plant, especially in its early stages, it must be constantly watched for insects and cutworms. These were usually removed by hand, but lately some poison preparations have been employed.

Topping was begun when the blooms first appeared on the top of the plant. This operation, breaking off the top of the plant, is still an integral part of the culture. Its purpose is to allow fuller growth of the upper leaves of the plant. Shortly afterwards appear so-called suckers which must also be broken off by hand. These suckers are merely offshoots appearing in the axils of the leaves.

Both the suckering and topping operations are used to insure a more complete development of the remaining plant. The tops and suckers are too thick and gummy for commercial use and are ordinarily left to rot into the ground.

The method of harvesting sun-grown or outdoor tobacco in the nineteenth century was the same as now followed. When the plants had become fully grown and ripe they were cut off at the ground and laid in rows to wilt. After the sun had made the leaves pliable and soft (on the stalk the leaves are inclined to be brittle, especially during the early morning hours when the dew is still upon them), they were removed to a special type of shed and tied upon poles and hung up to dry. At the present time the only difference from that method of "stalking" tobacco is that a spearhead is placed on the end of a lath, and the plant is hung upon the lath itself by pushing the spearhead through the thick portion of the stalk. The laths are assembled in the field upon a specially constructed horse or rack and then transported to the shed where they are hung upon beams. The principle of the harvesting and curing remains the same, but there is this difference of method.

Ordinarily the tobacco cures in the course of six to ten weeks. It is then removed from the beams of the shed and the leaves are stripped from the stalk, pressed into bundles, and removed to a warehouse where the sweating

is begun. Sweating is the fermentation of the tobacco by means of heat and moisture. In this process even temperature, humidity, and good ventilation, as well as careful attendance upon the "bulks" of tobacco in process of fermentation, are essential. Carelessness in any of these matters may result in spoiling the tobacco.

The sorting and grading of the leaves is the next step in the preparation for market. This process is the same today as ever except that the trade now demands a finer gradation of the leaves. They are first sorted into sizes according to length and width. Each size is then taken and graded according to color. Poor, broken, and spotted leaves are sorted out by themselves and also graded. Each grade is packed again into bundles and labeled and is then ready for manufacture. When tobacco has been properly cured and sweated it may remain packed for several years before use without danger of spoiling. As a matter of fact, most manufacturers hold tobacco in warehouses for considerable periods before using it.

Methods of marketing tobacco were changed considerably between 1830 and 1870. Prior to 1830 peddlers made periodic rounds of taverns to sell cigars to local dealers. This practice soon passed and the local dealers began to make the rounds themselves buying leaf rather than cigars. Growing in importance as they purchased more and more leaf, these local dealers began to sell outside the valley. The spread of cigar-making to other parts of the United States and the demand for American leaf abroad created tobacco markets in large trading centers such as New York and Philadelphia which replaced those of Hartford and Suffield. With the removal of the market from the valley a new class of jobbers and middlemen came into existence. The high profits of this new class were responsible for the organization of the early co-

operatives which, although they claimed success through increased prices to the farmers, never had a long existence. Representatives of local and New York jobbers soon invaded the field again.

Official estimates of costs and prices are impossible to obtain but some figures from contemporary sources are available. As tobacco is an outdoor crop and subject to the vagaries of the Connecticut climate, the yield per acre was never constant. Even if the yield per acre was high a rainy season, or a dry summer, or a damaging hail-storm might affect the quality of the crop to such an extent that the ultimate return to the grower would be considerably less than that for a crop grown under more favorable circumstances. During the period from 1830 to 1870 the yield per acre varied from fifteen hundred pounds to twenty-five hundred pounds. A crop yielding two thousand pounds of good leaf per acre was considered gratifying.

In 1854 the cost of growing a representative acre of broadleaf was \$67.50. This yielded two thousand pounds of tobacco, giving a cost of slightly more than three and one-third cents per pound. To this must be added the cost of sweating in a warehouse. The chief elements of cost in the production of the representative ton of leaf were \$15 for land rental and \$15 for fertilizer and labor in application. Hoeing, stripping of the stalk, and packing accounted for \$10. Topping and suckering cost \$4, the cutting of the stalks in the field and the subsequent hanging them to dry cost \$4, and the rental of the shed amounted to \$4. The balance, \$15.50, was spent in plowing, harrowing, purchase of plants, setting the plants, killing worms, and transportation charges to Warehouse Point. This particular tobacco was sold for \$160, leaving \$92.50 to the grower as profit.

After 1810 cigar smoking steadily gained popularity until in 1880 more than two and a half billion cigars were manufactured. By 1890 this figure had reached four billions. The rise in the demand for cigars was largely responsible for the increase in price of Connecticut leaf during the same period. In 1845 the price of wrappers fluctuated between six cents and twelve cents per pound and in 1850 between fourteen cents and twenty cents. For the next five years prices were low, but in 1856 growers obtained twenty-five and thirty cents per pound and in 1857 from thirty to thirty-five cents per pound. Prices fell sharply the next year but then steadily rose to forty cents per pound in 1870.

IV

THERE were two very decided and distinct trends in leaf production in Connecticut during the period from 1830 to 1890. The first was the very rapid rise in production in the first thirty years and then a gradual increase until 1880. In 1859 the New England production amounted to nine million pounds, contrasted with 540,000 pounds in 1830. Connecticut output remained stationary from 1862 until 1870 when it amounted to seven and a half million pounds per year. The subsequent increase to fifteen and a half million pounds by 1880 was gradual.

Rapid increase in output between 1839 and 1859 was easily traceable to the development of the cigar industry. Responsibility for the period of comparative stability in output after 1860 may be attributed mainly to the development of sections of Pennsylvania and Florida as cigar-leaf producing areas. These regions also produced a dark leaf which was then coming into fashion and which will be discussed shortly. The increase in Connecticut

output by 1880 was the result of a concerted effort on the part of local growers to raise a dark leaf.

The second distinct feature of this period was the gradual decline in Connecticut production from fifteen and a half million pounds in 1880 to twelve millions in 1885 and ten millions in 1890. Importations of Sumatra tobacco after 1880 and an attending change in fashion from a dark to a light wrapper caused a decrease in Connecticut output. These features will also be discussed in a later section.

The success of the tobacco growers in the Connecticut valley stimulated cigar-leaf production elsewhere. By 1850 cigar-leaf was produced in New York state and before 1870 it was raised on a large scale in several counties in Pennsylvania. The tobacco from Pennsylvania was much darker than that of Connecticut and rapidly came into favor as wrapper. Connecticut leaf was still without peer as to texture, aroma, burn, and size, its only defect being color.

Competition from other areas and overproduction in the valley brought about a period of depression which lasted until 1900, although there was some slight recovery during the early 1890's. Between 1855 and 1875 tobacco acreage in Connecticut and Massachusetts was reduced about forty per cent. This phenomenon created new margins and an ever-increasing number of submarginal producers was forced out of business. Only the best lands in the immediate vicinity of the Connecticut river continued to be used.

Valley farmers, however, showed their ability to adapt themselves to new conditions by immediately attempting to produce a darker leaf. This was accomplished by slight changes in culture and curing. It was known that thick leaves cured darker than thin. Therefore, gypsum was

spread upon the leaves while growing. It was also known that the greater the length of time consumed in curing, the darker a leaf cured. To accomplish this end, the doors of the shed were left open at night and closed during the day so that the leaf would be longer in curing. While these attempts on the part of the growers were partly successful, prosperity did not return to the Connecticut grower rapidly. Nor were attempts of cigar-makers to darken the leaves any more successful. It was a common practice at that time for cigar-makers to treat the wrapper with a licorice preparation in an effort to darken it.

The introduction of Havana leaf, effected by 1875, did more than any other one agency to restore prosperity. The United States department of agriculture had, from time to time, distributed seed to farmers for experimental purposes. This new leaf yielded a higher percentage of wrappers than the broadleaf and it also retained some of its original qualities, especially aroma. Its third-grade leaves, therefore, could be used for fillers to a greater extent than those of broadleaf. In a short time Havana seed took its place with broadleaf to dominate the tobacco field in the valley. Methods of culture of Havana seed are slightly different but are of small interest to any but the technical reader.

As stated above, the original source of competition with Connecticut leaf was from that produced within the United States. In 1880 a new source appeared when, for the first time, wrapper leaf from the island of Sumatra was introduced into the United States. That leaf was radically different from anything produced in this country. It was light in color, very thin and smooth in texture, with small veins, of even burn, and practically tasteless. Light-colored cigars again came into fashion and the imported Sumatra wrapper immediately took the

popular fancy. The result of this competition was an immediate depression in Connecticut and Massachusetts. With the introduction of an entirely new wrapper from Sumatra the cigar-leaf problem in Connecticut became of national rather than of local importance.

To offset this new danger, members of the Connecticut congressional delegation, acting with those of other districts also affected, secured the enactment in 1883 of a tariff of seventy-five cents per pound on imported wrappers. This, however, did not stem the tide of imports because (1) popular fancy had been tickled by the new-comer; (2) the cheapness of the Sumatra wrapper which was in turn caused by (a) low labor, land, and fertilizer costs and (b) the fact that a pound of Sumatra leaf would wrap approximately five hundred cigars while a pound of Connecticut leaf would wrap but from one hundred to two hundred cigars.

Profits made by the Dutch syndicate operating in Sumatra induced a rapid increase in the production of cigar-leaf in South and Central America, the Philippines, and Mexico. Competition became so keen in the United States market that the tariff on unstemmed wrapper was raised in 1890 to two dollars per pound, but even that rate failed to stop imports.

V

THE growth and development of the cigar-leaf industry in Connecticut during the period from 1830 to 1890, and more particularly from 1870 to 1890, was but a hint, a forerunner, of what was to come. The forty years succeeding 1890 were dominated by two chief characteristics whereas the former era had reflected but one. Expansion was the chief feature of the earlier period while a more intensive agriculture, a more determined specialization,

prevailed in the cigar-leaf field after 1890. Furthermore, policies of the growers in Connecticut were influenced by the world market, for competition was no longer merely interstate but international.

It is simpler, however, to discuss the situation by reference to the following chief features and developments of the period, namely: Sumatra imports, the use of covering over tobacco growing in Connecticut, the advent of large corporations in the United States, the use of machines in cigar-making, aid rendered by governmental agencies, and marketing. Each will be considered in turn.

Although the adaptability of the soil and climate of Sumatra to the production of a high-grade wrapper leaf was recognized in the early 1860's, imports of tobacco from that region into the United States did not begin until 1880. While but thirty-eight pounds were imported in 1880, nearly four million pounds were entered in 1883 with a total value of \$2,942,000. From that time until 1900 the general trend was upward. Through this period the average annual importation approximated four million to five million pounds. After 1900 there was a pronounced upward movement in imports. The average after that time was between five million and seven million pounds per year. Because of disturbed trade conditions during the World War, leaf was forwarded direct from the East Indies, instead of being first shipped to Amsterdam, as was ordinarily done. During the war years, Sumatra imports fell slightly to an average of five million pounds per year. Upon the cessation of hostilities, however, imports immediately rose and until 1929 averaged six million pounds per year.

It may be interesting to note that even in 1883 at the time of the enactment of the first tariff of any magnitude, imports reacted directly to the measure congress was

supposed to be about to adopt. Especially was this phenomenon noticeable in 1890 when practically ten million pounds were imported, mostly before the tariff of that year (\$2 per pound) went into effect. The reverse was also true whenever it was believed that congress might possibly lower the rate. A good example of this retardation in the flow of imports occurred in 1894 when only 3,870,000 pounds were brought into the country as opposed to five millions in 1893 and the same amount in 1895. The duty was reduced in 1894 to \$1.50 per pound. Following the increase of the duty to \$1.85 per pound in 1897 imports were restricted for two years, but in 1900 they rose to over five millions and averaged as noted above until congress, in 1921, enacted emergency legislation which fixed the rate at \$2.35 per pound. In anticipation of this action over eight million pounds of leaf were imported from Sumatra prior to the effective date of the duty. A permanent duty of \$2.10 per pound was fixed in 1922 and importers again held off until the new rate went into effect. In 1930, the last of the rate changes was made, raising the tariff to \$2.275 per pound. Again, in anticipation of the change nearly seven million pounds were imported in 1930 prior to the effective date of the legislation as opposed to imports of but 360,000 pounds for the remainder of the year. The custom of keeping at least a year's supply of wrapper "in bond" facilitated such evasion.

Sumatran imports of cigar-leaf can hardly be considered the cause of failure of the Connecticut output since 1890. On the contrary, the increase in imports from the East Indies has been shown above to have been slight in this period. Opposed to this the output of Connecticut cigar-leaf rose from ten million pounds in 1890 to eighteen millions in 1900, thence to twenty-eight millions in 1910, and to forty-one million pounds in 1920. The banner year

for Connecticut production was 1921 when forty-four million pounds were harvested. After 1921 the general trend was downward, although it was an exceptionally irregular movement. In 1933 but sixteen million pounds were grown.

While the above discussion has considered the sum total of all Connecticut cigar-leaf, the yield of specialized Connecticut wrapper has shown the same characteristics since 1900. Production of Connecticut valley shade-grown leaf (which after 1910 supplanted broadleaf and Havana seed as wrapper) increased from 700,000 pounds in 1902 to 1,800,000 in 1910 and 8,600,000 pounds in 1923. The increase was fairly steady until 1929 when over ten million pounds were harvested. Since 1929 the trend has been steadily downward.

Likewise the farm price of Connecticut leaf has been little affected by imports. From 1890 to 1915 it varied between thirteen cents per pound in 1896 and twenty-four and one-tenth cents per pound in 1912. The World War boomed the price to forty-eight and one-tenth cents per pound in 1919. Thereafter, the price remained between twenty-six cents and thirty-six cents per pound until 1929 when it rose to forty-eight and one-tenth cents again. After the latter year it fell considerably until 1933 when some slight recovery was made.

Prices of Connecticut shade-grown leaf have been similar in trend, being governed more by market conditions than affected by imports. From 1919 to 1930 the price varied from ninety cents per pound on the farm to \$1.05. In but one year, 1924, did the price fall to eighty-five cents and this probably was the result of an exceptionally large crop in 1923. The price fell to fifty-nine cents per pound in 1932 but recovered to eighty cents in 1933.

VI

THE second most important development of the period came in 1896. This was the idea of raising tobacco under shade to produce a leaf which could compete in color, texture, and weight with the imported Sumatra wrapper. The idea of raising tobacco under shade seems to have been fortuitous. On this point the tariff commission has said: "Plants grown under the partial shade of trees were observed to produce thinner leaves better suited for cigar wrappers than plants grown in the open. These observations led, in 1896, to the construction of artificial shade over a quarter of an acre, marking the beginning of the development in this country of specialized types grown primarily for use as cigar wrapper." These early experiments in Florida and Georgia, important as they were, brought out the fact that after a few years tobacco grown from this seed gradually assumed the properties of Cuban tobacco. But a cross between Sumatra and Cuban, known as Big Cuba, was developed and because of its light color and high yield of wrapper per acre it supplanted the imported Sumatra seed by 1906.

In the early 1900's the late John B. Stewart of Windsor, Connecticut, was requested by the United States department of agriculture to conduct experiments in shade-leaf production in Connecticut. In 1908 Stewart published the results of his experiments in growing three acres of tobacco under shade and preparing it for market. His estimates (for the crop year 1907) were that his crop of 4,204 pounds of tobacco cost \$1,509.97 to grow and fifteen cents per pound to pack. The total cost thus came to \$2,140.57 for the three acres. But in the process of warehousing, the tobacco had shrunk 5.37 per cent so that there were but 3,978 pounds to be sold. This was a

cost of nearly fifty-four cents per pound of the raw crop, or fifty-five cents per pound on the market. It sold for an average of eighty-two and a half cents per pound packed, and yielded, despite the shrinkage, a total profit of \$380.77 per acre, of which the grower's share was \$267.41 or nineteen cents a pound, and the dealer's share was \$113.36 or eight and a half cents a pound. From that time forward, shade-grown tobacco became the specialized wrapper of Connecticut.

While but seventy acres were planted to shade in 1907 in all New England, sixty-two hundred acres were cultivated in 1918. In Connecticut in 1919 about thirty-nine hundred acres, with a total yield of 4,600,000 pounds of leaf, were harvested. The crop value was \$4,830,000. The increase in production until 1929 was irregular but persistent. In the latter year there were harvested 7,200 acres under shade yielding 8,400,000 pounds, with a farm value of \$8,000,000. Production fell off to 1932, but recovered slightly in 1933.

The discovery of the use of shade brought about many important changes in Connecticut leaf production. It developed a more highly specialized as well as a new industry. As the new leaf was claimed to be comparable to imported Sumatra, the tariff problem was brought more sharply into relief. Higher costs, for cloth, labor, and fertilizer, were obviously necessary.

New methods of handling were also introduced. Whereas the outdoor tobacco had been cut at the stalk and the whole plant hung to dry, the new shade leaves are carefully plucked from the stalk in bunches of four, five, or six. These leaves are placed in baskets and removed to the sheds, there to be hung on laths by means of a needle threaded with string of which one end is attached to one end of a lath. When a certain number of

leaves have been placed upon the string, the loose end is fastened to the other end of the lath and the latter is hung upon beams in the shed. The curing and warehousing are essentially the same, except that the final grades are more numerous.

Changes in the method of handling shade tobacco have unquestionably raised certain labor problems. For instance, to produce a thin light leaf, even temperature throughout the day and night is essential. The use of shade aids in accomplishing this, but at the same time the humidity under the tents is increased by fifteen or twenty degrees. Also, the fact that the leaves are plucked from the stalk makes it necessary to use boys in the harvesting operation for, unlike men, they do not need to work in a stooped posture. The use of young boys in performing this tedious task in an artificially produced humidity is a problem in itself. Again, most of the stringing of the leaves upon the laths in the sheds is done by women. Clouds of dust, caused by a constant stream of teams passing through the sheds delivering the freshly picked leaf, are disagreeable. Also, the sticky, gummy substance which oozes from the leaves when handled quickly collects dirt and is extremely uncomfortable to the worker.

All these problems and more arise in the shade fields in Connecticut, but a mere mention of them here is sufficient, except to say that most of the producers do their best to relieve disagreeable working conditions. To this end improved methods of sanitation, good water supplies, and the system of wetting down dust have been installed. There is one other problem which appears small, but which is probably of as much importance as any other in preventing accidents. That is the practice, at present, of nailing all beams in the shed in such a way that they do

not fall. At one time, not so many years ago, sheds were constructed with movable beams to utilize all space available, with the result that many injuries were caused by falling beams. Now, producers are willing to sacrifice space to insure safety for those on the ground below.

Coincident with the increase in use of shade wrapper came the decline in the use of the outdoor types for wrapper. In 1913, twenty-one per cent of the broadleaf crop of Connecticut was used for wrapper, in 1920 but seven per cent, and in 1929 only one per cent. Likewise, twelve per cent of the 1914 Havana seed crop was employed as wrapper, six per cent of the 1920 crop, and two per cent of the 1929 output. During the years of depression following 1929 it is possible that the use of these outdoor types as wrapper has increased somewhat because many small growers have made cigars on their own farms rather than sell their tobacco for ridiculously low prices. This, however, is but a passing phenomenon.

It is clear that if the stalk industry is to survive in Connecticut, its product must be used as binder and filler or its producers must find ways and means to cut production costs so that it may again come into its own in the wrapper field. It is entirely possible that, if costs were cut, manufacturers would endeavor to popularize the dark cigar and again change consumer taste.

VII

THE third important development of the period under discussion has been the formation of large corporations to engage in the production of shade leaf. In 1910 the American Sumatra Corporation was formed under the laws of Georgia. This corporation now owns, either directly or through subsidiaries, nine thousand acres of farm land and twenty-two thousand acres of timberland

in Florida and Georgia. It also owns about six thousand acres of farm land in the Connecticut valley. Another large company in the valley is the Hartman Tobacco Company, with an outstanding capitalization of \$3,500,000, formed in 1928, as a result of the consolidation of several small companies.

There are several other corporations growing shade leaf in the valley at the present time. Chief among them is Cullman Brothers, Incorporated, of which Mr. Fred B. Griffin of Hartford, a recognized leader in the cigar-leaf field, is vice-president. The Consolidated Cigar Corporation is another of the large producers. During the 1932 season this corporation grew approximately one thousand acres of tobacco in the Connecticut valley on farms located between Portland, Connecticut, and Deerfield, Massachusetts. Other growers, whose outputs vary in size, are the Otee Tobacco Company; Shepard and Son; C. K. and H. T. Hale, Incorporated; Gershel-Kaffenburgh and Company; and L. B. Haas and Company.

Much of the land under shade is owned outright by these companies or rented by them under various leasing arrangements. A small portion of the leaf is grown also by small independent farmers for the larger companies on a contract basis. Thus the interest of small farmers in the Connecticut valley is confined to leasing their farms to the large concerns and to working for them. As a consequence, all the shade-grown tobacco in Connecticut and Massachusetts is produced under the direction of two large and seven small companies.

Most of the corporations in the valley engaged in the production of wrapper leaf are integrated to a greater or less degree. Some make their own fertilizer and grow and pack their own tobacco, while others grow the leaf, pack it, and manufacture cigars. For example, the Consolidated

Cigar Corporation owns much of its land, possesses its own fertilizer plants and warehouses for packing the tobacco, and manufactures the finished product—the cigar. Cullman Brothers, on the other hand, are not only growers of shade leaf in Connecticut, but are also large importers of Sumatra leaf. The Otee Tobacco Company, while not owning its own fertilizer plants, is nevertheless directly connected, through stock ownership and control, with Olds and Whipple, Incorporated, of Hartford, manufacturers of fertilizers.

While the above may indicate that the shade growers of Connecticut are the most important in an economic sense, it is well to consider the relative importance of shade and outdoor production. In 1929 there were harvested in Connecticut, 13,600 acres of outdoor tobacco, which yielded twenty million pounds of leaf, with a farm value of \$5,700,000. On the other hand, there were but 7,200 acres of shade harvested which yielded 8,400,000 pounds of leaf with an estimated farm value of \$8,000,000. The outdoor tobacco was grown by approximately 1,700 small farmers in Connecticut. Their permanent investment in land and equipment approaches \$55,000,000, while that of the shade growers is about \$20,000,000. To a large number of the outdoor growers the tobacco raised on a few acres represents their only money crop.

VIII

OF great importance to cigar-leaf growers in recent years has been the rapid growth of the use of machines in making cigars. This development has been significant because the sole market for Connecticut tobacco lies in the cigar field and machine production has a tendency to reduce costs so that more customers may be tempted to smoke cigars. Although the cigar-making machine is of

comparatively recent origin, practically all the nickel cigars are now produced by this method. In 1917, the United States department of labor estimated that one and a half million cigars were made by machine, and by 1931, the yearly output by machine had increased to 2,912,250,000.

In 1922, this machine was capable of turning out four hundred finished cigars an hour with only four operators, usually girls, in attendance. At the most, over a period of time, the typical hand worker can complete three hundred cigars in an eight-hour day. The labor cost in the machine process approximates three dollars per thousand, while in the hand method it is about fifteen dollars per thousand. Thus the reduction in cost of labor alone caused by the introduction of the machine amounts to approximately twelve dollars per thousand cigars.

While reduction in costs brought about through the introduction of the cigar-making machine allowed dealers to reduce the price of cigars, and thereby increase the demand for Connecticut leaf, there was another factor which arose to offset this new advantage. Cigarettes were becoming more popular each year, thereby cutting into the cigar market and, therefore, into the market for Connecticut leaf. In 1910, eight and five-tenths billion cigarettes were manufactured and consumed in the United States, fifty-two billions in 1921, and a grand total of one hundred and twenty-four billions were manufactured in 1931.

Consumption of cigars, and therefore the market for Connecticut leaf, fell off sharply after 1920. While the trend of cigar consumption has been downward there have been temporary periods of revival. After having dropped to six and seven-tenths billions in 1921, production rose to nearly seven billions in 1923, only to fall

again in 1925 to less than six and five-tenths billions. With the reduction of the internal revenue tax on cigars in 1926 the cigar industry barely managed to maintain itself until 1929 when consumption amounted to but six and five-tenths billions. The two succeeding calendar years witnessed a steady drop to five and three-tenths billions in 1931. Production in 1932 amounted to less than four and five-tenths billions.

These figures show definitely that there has been a distinct decline in the demand for Connecticut valley cigar leaf. Analysis of the consumption of cigars by price class will further indicate that Connecticut wrapper is slowly losing its place in the field. While Class A cigars (listed as such by the internal revenue bureau for tax purposes because they represent those retailing at five cents or less) represented twenty-two and five-tenths per cent of the total consumed in 1920, they rapidly gained so that in 1925, forty-two per cent of the nation's output were those in Class A. By 1931 the sales of Class A products in the United States amounted to practically seventy per cent of the total. The chief significance of these figures lies in the fact that only a small percentage of Connecticut shade leaf can be used to wrap the cigars representing the largest market in the United States—the nickel variety. The reason for this is that Connecticut shade is a high-cost crop and can not be profitably sold at prices which will attract Class A manufacturers. Furthermore, for various reasons, Connecticut outdoor tobacco is seldom used for wrapper. Therefore, the conclusion is justified that the chief hope of Connecticut cigar-leaf growers lies in the reduction of costs and in the revival of a market for high-priced cigars.

IX

THE United States department of agriculture and the Connecticut department of agriculture and its affiliates have coöperated fully with the farmers in the Connecticut valley to grow a better leaf from improved strains. Often they have taken the lead in experimental work. Of particular note is the work of the Connecticut Tobacco Sub-Station at Windsor under the direction of Dr. Paul J. Anderson. Much has been done at this station to improve strains and prepare fertilizer mixtures for different types of soils. Valuable statistical reviews of markets and crops have been prepared by Dr. Howard B. Boyd of Connecticut State College and his colleagues. Dr. Boyd is at present serving as a tobacco specialist with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in Washington. The information supplied by the substation at Windsor and by Connecticut State College has been well disseminated to interested parties by the Hartford County Farm Bureau through its former secretary, Mr. Charles D. Lewis. Mr. Lewis's knowledge of the problems of Connecticut tobacco growers has also won him a position as senior economist of the Tobacco Section, Agricultural Adjustment Administration at Washington.

Also of particular note is the activity of the Connecticut department of labor and factory inspection under the leadership of Commissioner Joseph M. Tone. With the assistance of several of the more influential growers in Hartford and vicinity, Commissioner Tone has been able to effect a written agreement on the part of those who raise more than ninety-five per cent of the shade leaf in Connecticut that children under fourteen years of age should not be employed. This agreement, signed in December, 1932, was a notable achievement inasmuch as

tobacco raising is considered as agriculture in Connecticut, and is, therefore, not subject to labor laws and state regulation.

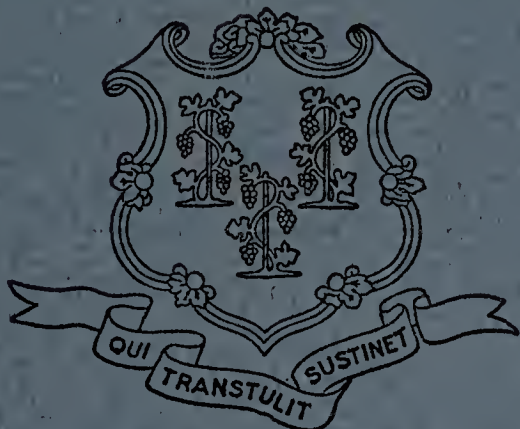
Little can be said of changes in marketing systems in Connecticut. Most of the shade leaf is packed by the growers and sold by them to jobbers or cigar manufacturers. In the outdoor field the small grower usually sells to the representative of some packing-house, which in turn sells direct to cigar manufacturers. At present there is no coöperative marketing agency of any size in the Connecticut valley. The last of the larger coöperatives was the Connecticut Valley Tobacco Growers' Association, which had a short existence in the early 1920's. Little can be said of this last attempt because of the conflicting testimony as to its usefulness. It is probable, however, that there will be another coöperative attempt in the near future, as there has been at least one in nearly every decade since 1850.

As the tobacco industry of Connecticut found means to surmount the difficulties in earlier crises, it is reasonable to anticipate that Connecticut ingenuity, skill, and enterprise will find satisfactory solutions for the present problems and restore tobacco growing to its place of importance in the state.

Bibliographical Note

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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
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LIII

*Connecticut's Contribution to the
Development of the Steamboat*

PENROSE ROBINSON HOOPES

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*Connecticut's Contribution to the
Development of the Steamboat*

PENROSE ROBINSON HOOPES

I

ON August 22, 1787, the Constitutional Convention, then in session in Philadelphia to lay the foundations for a new political state, adjourned its meeting to permit its members to witness the trial of a little steamboat on the Delaware river. That boat marked the first successful application of steam to water transportation and was the forerunner of a technical revolution destined to be quite as important for the future of the new nation as the political revolution which the American colonists had just brought to a successful conclusion. Perhaps none of the delegates who saw the experiment realized its full significance or foresaw the profound social changes which the new mode of transportation was to bring to the American continent. To them it appeared as but another demonstration of Yankee ingenuity to be politely patronized, rather than as a revolutionary technical advance which presaged the coming of a new commercial and industrial era.

Technical advances invariably have their roots in

contemporary social conditions and, in a very real sense, the inventor is a product of his social environment. The object of inventive effort is determined by current economic conditions but the success of the effort and the rapidity with which the invention is brought to practical fulfilment is largely dependent upon the state of the related technical arts at the moment. This is not to belittle the rôle of personal genius in conceiving and carrying to completion the technical synthesis inherent in all inventions, for the inventor is by no means a mere passive instrument of external social and technical forces.

Nowhere in the history of American invention is this more clearly evidenced than in the life of John Fitch and his achievement in designing and building the first steamboat. To appreciate the significance of that accomplishment requires a knowledge of the man himself, his training, experience, and personal limitations, no less than of the historical circumstances which led to his undertaking the work, the current technical factors which operated to further or to retard his progress, and the social pressures which on the one hand drove him forward to meet an urgent social need, and on the other placed innumerable obstacles in his path to success.

II

JOHN FITCH was born in Windsor (now South Windsor), Connecticut, on January 21, 1743 (O.S.), in a house situated near the boundary line between South Windsor and East Hartford. A few months of formal schooling supplemented by a study of Hodder's *Arithmetic* and Salmon's *Geography* and by instruction from his father and from the local schoolmaster in the elements of surveying; plenty of hard work on the farm; a year as a clerk in a country store; and a brief trip as roustabout

on a coasting vessel, occupied the greater part of his boyhood. He was apprenticed at the age of eighteen to Benjamin Cheney, a maker of wooden clocks in East Hartford, with whom he lived for two years, continuing for another year with Benjamin's brother Timothy, a clockmaker, silversmith, and brass worker. In later years Fitch referred bitterly to the superficial character of his early training, but it was in reality perfectly typical of the education available at the time to the average farm-bred lad of central Connecticut.

By borrowing a few shillings and securing some credit he was able at the completion of his apprenticeship to establish himself in business as a brass founder, and two years of application to that trade sufficed to pay his debts and provide him with a capital of fifty pounds.

On December 29, 1767, he married Lucy Roberts who, he recorded, was "rather inclining to be an old maid" but "was deaceant woman enough and no ways ugly, but delicate in her make." Home life failed to appeal to him, however, and on January 16, 1769, he deserted his family and became a wanderer. Many years later he wrote to his friend, Nathaniel Irwin:

I know of nothing so perplexing and vexatious to a man of fealings as a turbulent Wife and Steamboat building. I experienced the former, and quit in season, and had I been in my right sences, I should undoubtedly treated the latter in the same manner; but for one man to be teised with Both, he must be looked on as the most unfortunate man of the world.

His travels took him to Pittsfield, Albany, New York, and finally to Trenton, New Jersey, where he settled in May, 1769. Meanwhile, he supported himself by making brass buttons and cleaning clocks. For a time he was employed by a local silversmith and after acquiring that trade he opened a shop of his own in Trenton. He suc-

ceeded so well that by the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he found himself worth £800. During the early months of the war he was active as a gunsmith in Trenton, but at the end of 1776, with the advance of the British forces on Trenton, he hastily removed to Bucks county, Pennsylvania. During the encampment of the American army at Valley Forge he made a small fortune by buying up supplies of tobacco and beer in Baltimore, Lancaster, and York, carting them to the camp, and disposing of them at high prices to the troops. It is said that he cleared as much as £150 a week during this period, but the business came to an end with the removal of the army in June, 1778.

What to do with his newly acquired wealth was a serious problem. It was all in the form of Continental currency, and that currency was depreciating rapidly. When it had dropped to less than one per cent of its nominal value, Fitch followed the example set by some of his shrewder contemporaries and invested what remained in land warrants entitling him to take up some sixteen hundred acres of land in the West.

To convert these warrants into deeds for land it was necessary to go west, pick out the most valuable locations, survey the property, and record the surveys. A commission as deputy surveyor was secured through the influence of Dr. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and in the spring of 1780 Fitch traveled to the banks of the Ohio river. Extensive explorations were undertaken with the help of an experienced woodsman, and after a year devoted to this work he returned to Richmond, Virginia, and recorded his surveys of choice land in Jefferson, Nelson, Lincoln, and Fayette counties.

Greatly impressed with the prospective growth and

development of the Western territory, and beset with visions of an immense fortune to be derived from that source, he devoted a few months to settling old accounts in Pennsylvania and to collecting as much ready cash as possible with a view to additional purchases of Kentucky lands. The spring of 1782 saw him again on the Ohio river, but unluckily he was promptly captured by Indians and after innumerable adventures and hardships found himself a prisoner of the British in Canada. His exchange and return to Pennsylvania were effected in 1783.

His own resources were now exhausted but his faith in the potentialities of the West was stronger than ever. He, therefore, organized a company of speculators to carry out an extensive presurvey of a hundred thousand acres of Western land in order that he and his associates might be in a position to acquire the choicest sites when the lands were offered for sale by congress. For his services in carrying on this survey Fitch was to receive a half interest in the territory finally acquired, his expenses meanwhile being met by the members of the company. The first trip was successful in locating large tracts of valuable land, and a second expedition early in 1785 added two hundred and fifty thousand acres to the territory already surveyed. Upon his return to Pennsylvania he applied to congress for an appointment as official surveyor of Western lands, hoping thereby to strengthen the position of the company when the anticipated offering of land was made.

While awaiting a decision on this application (which was ultimately denied) Fitch occupied himself with further study of the problems of the West. Although at that period he could not foresee the eventual failure of the land scheme, the leaders of the new nation were even

then making plans of their own for the disposition of the Western lands, plans which were to result in depriving Fitch and his company of the supposed advantages gained from his presurveys. When, later in the year 1785, these plans were enacted into law, Fitch could only express his disappointment and resign himself to the loss with the remark: "Thus was an immense fortune reduced to nothing at one blow." Meanwhile, however, he had engraved and published a map of the territory, and in April, 1785, while pondering over the difficulties of travel through Kentucky and Ohio, Fitch hit upon the idea of utilizing a steam engine in a boat.

III

THIS conception of a new mode of transportation was to dominate his activities during the next ten years. He saw clearly the necessity for the settlement and physical development of the West if the anticipated speculative land values were to be realized. Many of the early speculative holders of land warrants were no more concerned with the development of the new lands than the modern stock speculator is with the physical problems of the corporations in whose securities he hopes to make a profit. Not so Fitch. To him it was obvious that the future of the West must be dependent upon growth in population and upon an expanding industry and commerce which could be assured only by cheap and rapid transportation facilities. Time and again in later years he stressed this in his private letters and petitions to the state legislatures. The steamboat "would not only make the Mississippi as navigable as Tide water, but would make our vast Territory on those waters an inconceivable fund in the Treasury of the United States," he wrote in 1786; and again in 1790, "The western waters of the United

States, which have hitherto been navigated with great difficulty and expence, may now be ascended with safety, conveniency, and great velocity, consequently, by these means an immediate increased value will be given to the Western Territory."

Fitch made no claim to being the first to conceive of a steamboat. The idea was widely current throughout Europe and America some years before he undertook to demonstrate it in practice. As early as 1736 Jonathan Hulls of England had published elaborate drawings and descriptions of a boat making use of the Newcomen atmospheric engine as a source of power. Both before and after that date similar schemes were proposed, but so far as is now known none of them was put into execution prior to 1787 when Fitch made his first practical demonstration on the Delaware river. The atmospheric engine was essentially a pumping device, and due to its size and weight in proportion to the power developed, it was incapable of any significant development as a portable power plant adaptable to use in a vessel. Not until 1769, when James Watt patented the steam engine with separate condenser, did the problem become technically solvable, and only in 1782, after Watt had invented the double-acting engine, was steam navigation brought within the realm of practical possibility.

Reports of Watt's inventions were early circulated in Pennsylvania and the thought of applying the steam engine to navigation occurred to many of the ingenious men of the time. Fitch himself wrote:

In October [1785] I called on the ingenious Mr. [William] Henry, of Lancaster, to take his opinion on my drafts, who informed me, that I was not the first person who had thought of applying Steam to vessels; that he had conversed with Mr. Andrew Ellicott as early as the year 1775, and that Mr. Paine,

author of *Common Sense*, had suggested the same thing to him in the winter of 1778; that some time after, he [Mr. Henry] thinking more seriously of the matter, was of opinion it might be easily perfected and accordingly made some drafts which he proposed to lay before the [American] Philosophical Society and which he then showed me, but added as he had neglected to bring them to public view, and as I had first published the plan to the world, he would lay no claim to the invention.

While Fitch was thus not the first to recognize the advantages of steam navigation, he seems to have arrived at the concept independently and to have derived little or nothing from the speculations of those who had preceded him. His accomplishment, as distinct from those of his predecessors, was that he first translated a vague speculation into a useful machine, drawing together and materializing the disconnected threads of ideas implicit in the state of the technical arts and social imperatives of the year 1785.

IV

THE first step in reducing the idea of steam navigation to practice was to construct a model embodying a method of ship propulsion adapted to the capabilities of a steam engine. No working model of an engine was attempted, but a miniature boat equipped with paddle wheels was built and successfully tested. Owing to the scale of the experiment the wheels were necessarily small in diameter and the paddles consequently struck the surface of the water at such a high angle as to result in great loss of power. This paddle-wheel model was nevertheless the basis upon which Fitch first solicited patronage for large-scale experiments.

The logical simplicity of the plan as embodied in the model seems to have appealed strongly to the scientific

men to whom he exhibited it. Dr. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, wrote on August 20, 1785:

I have examined Mr. Fitch's machine for rowing a Boat, by the alternate operation of steam, and the atmosphere, and am of opinion that his principles are proper, and Philosophical, and have no doubt of the success of the scheme if executed by a skilful workman. It is certain that the extensive force of Water, when converted into steam, is equal to any obstruction that can be laid in its way, so as to burst any metalick vessel in which we would endeavour to confine it, and the application of this force to turn a wheel in the water, so as to answer the purpose of Oars, seems easy and natural by the machine which he proposes, and of which he has shown me a rough model. . . . The project deserves a trial to be made of it, to see how far the execution will answer the theory.

A week later Dr. Samuel S. Smith, professor in the College of New Jersey and later its president, wrote: "Mr. Fitch has shown me a model of an instrument to row a Boat against streams, which appears to me to be constructed on just and Philosophical principles." William C. Houston, a former professor in the College of New Jersey and a member of congress, in a letter of August 25, 1785, to Lambert Cadwallader, wrote:

I have examined the Principles and construction of Mr. Fitch's steamboat, and though not troubled with a Penchant for projects, cannot help approving the simplicity of the plan. The greatest objections to most pretensions of this sort, is the delicacy and complication of the machinery. This does not seem liable to such objections. . . . I cannot help expressing a wish that it may be practicable to do something toward procuring an experiment.

Gardoqui, the Spanish minister to the United States, thought well enough of the plan to make a tentative offer of assistance conditioned upon Fitch giving the

benefit of the invention to the Spanish king, but the inventor declined to enter into such an arrangement, for the steamboat project was still intimately associated in his mind with the future of his Western landholdings. A vague appeal to congress for "encouragement" was without results, and on September 27, 1785, Fitch presented the model of the boat, together with a drawing and description of it, to the American Philosophical Society. The papers have long since disappeared, but the model itself is still in the possession of the society. The paddle wheels with which it is equipped consist of two small rotary drums over which chains carrying the paddles are passed, the general design being somewhat similar to the modern type of chain flight conveyer. It is not the practical form of wheel subsequently used by Morey, Fulton, and their successors, although contemporary references to it as a "paddle wheel" have led many modern commentators to assume that such was originally the case.

On April 17, 1786, Fitch went to Philadelphia to organize a company for financing experiments on a commercial scale. It is a tribute to his talents as a promoter that within a week he obtained enough subscriptions to justify a beginning. The leading subscribers were the members of the land company out of whose activity the realization of the necessity for improved Western transportation had arisen in Fitch's mind. The capital of the company consisted of forty shares, of which Fitch retained one half, each subscriber being expected to pay assessments on his shares as money was needed during the progress of the work, and an initial payment of twenty dollars a share gave the inventor funds in excess of three hundred dollars with which to commence operations. Had he foreseen but a few of the difficulties with

which he was soon to be faced, it is doubtful whether he would have undertaken the task.

Much of the difficulty encountered in building an operative engine was due to the primitive machinery and inexperienced mechanics available. Industrial equipment of the period was constructed largely of wood and the standards of workmanship were, in general, of the crudest. Watt himself, working in England with the most highly developed machinery and most expert workmen to be found anywhere, was obliged to be content with cylinders bored as much as three eighths of an inch out of round. It is small wonder, therefore, that Fitch was forced to struggle with loose pistons, leaky cylinder heads, and bursting boilers. His results were limited by the ability of the Philadelphia foundries to cast only the simplest shapes, by the necessity of avoiding standards of workmanship with which blacksmiths, carpenters, and coppersmiths were unfamiliar, and by the lack of suitable machine tools with which to bore, turn, and drill comparatively large metal parts. These limitations account for the use which he made of wood as a material for such parts as the cylinder heads and boiler casings. They explain the attempts to construct boilers and condensers of excessively thin copper sheets soldered together, and they tell much of the story behind the increasing difficulties encountered in building larger and larger engines. The cylinders were probably bored on one of the upright boring mills used during the Revolutionary War in the production of cannon. The steam valves and small fittings were of brass and presumably presented no serious problems to one with Fitch's experience, being simple castings machined by the methods which he had learned during his apprenticeship. The driving mechanism and paddles were of wood, reinforced

with iron, bent and forged to shape by a blacksmith. Much of the work taxed the skill of the workmen to the utmost, and the mere fact that they were able at last to complete it was considered noteworthy by their contemporaries.

V

THE difficulties, however, were by no means all of a technical nature. From the inception of the steamboat project in 1785 until its final abandonment almost ten years later, a large share of Fitch's energy was devoted to attempting to raise funds to carry on the experiments. Again and again he appealed for help to the public, to the state and national legislatures, to his friends, and to the financial leaders of Philadelphia and the South. Most of the original stockholders in the enterprise soon tired of the repeated assessments, and for months at a time the work was suspended while Fitch argued and cajoled a few dollars here and there from unwilling contributors. It has been estimated that altogether some eight thousand dollars were expended, probably the largest amount sunk up to that time in America on a single technical experiment.

In order to raise such a sum in poverty-stricken post-Revolutionary America, much more than an inventor's enthusiasm was necessary. Steps had to be taken to secure a monopoly, the anticipated profits of which would accrue to the backers of the experimental work. The federal patent system was not yet in existence, but the individual states could still grant exclusive rights within their own borders. Securing these state monopolies was a long and troublesome process, but Fitch negotiated for them with tireless patience and skill. He seems to have interviewed almost every man of political

prominence in the country, from General Washington down, with the result that after many delays and disappointments, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia were induced to grant the desired exclusive rights in the years 1786 and 1787. Repeated attempts to secure a federal monopoly were ineffectual until after the passage of the first federal patent law in 1790.

More serious in its effect upon Fitch than the difficulties in developing, financing, and protecting his own conception was the protracted quarrel with James Rumsey over priority of invention. Rumsey, like Fitch, had been attracted by the problem of power navigation. Whether he had even so much as thought of steam for the purpose, until long after Fitch had made the idea a commonplace, is doubtful, but he was fortunate in securing a number of prominent patrons and for a time was influential in opposing Fitch's claims before the various legislative bodies. The contest absorbed an inordinate amount of Fitch's attention and seems to have embittered him to such an extent as to interfere seriously with the prosecution of his own constructive plans.

The attitude of the public toward inventions and inventors in general was one of skepticism tinged with scorn. The comparatively low state of development of the technical arts made the successful reduction to practice of new ideas an extremely difficult—often an impossible—task. Many a perfectly sound conception had failed for lack of adequate technical facilities by which alone it could be demonstrated and brought into practical use. The inventor was above all concerned with practical problems, and his repeated failures to overcome the handicaps of an undeveloped productive technique

made him, in the eyes of his contemporaries, a visionary, a pursuer of will-o'-the-wisps and a fit subject for derision. Nowhere has this attitude been better described than in the words of James Rumsey when writing in 1788 of his own efforts to construct a steamboat:

Those who have had the good fortune to discover a new machine . . . must arm themselves with patience to abide disappointments; to correct a thousand imperfections (which the trying hand of experience alone can point out) to endure the smarting shafts of wit, and, what is perhaps more intolerable than all the rest put together (on the least failure of any experiments) to bear up against the heavy abuse and bitter scoffs of ill-natured ignorance. These never fail to represent the undertaker as an imposter, and his motives most knavish: Happy for him if he escape with so gentle an appellative as that of a madman.

VI

IN the face of such obstacles Fitch and his associates in the steamboat company began early in May, 1786, the developments which were to lead to the first successful steamboat in history. Recognizing the handicap of his own limited technical knowledge, Fitch's initial step was to secure the assistance of a technician better qualified to design and construct the all-important steam engine. John Nancarrow, proprietor of a foundry in Philadelphia and one of the leading American mechanics of his day, was the first choice, but after working for a few weeks over the problem he had nothing better to offer than a modified Newcomen engine which Fitch refused to approve. Consideration was then given to Josiah Hornblower who, in 1753, had installed the pumping engine at the Schuyler copper mine at Passaic, New Jersey; and to Christopher Colles of New York, an ingenious and scientifically trained Irishman, who was recognized as an outstanding authority on steam.

While negotiations were pending with these men Fitch discussed the project with Henry Voight, a German mechanic who had settled in Philadelphia, had worked for some years as an assistant to David Rittenhouse, and in 1786 was in business as a clockmaker. Voight's talents seem to have made an immediate impression upon the members of the company, and he was persuaded to become associated with Fitch in the work of developing the steamboat. A happier choice could not have been made, for there is no question but that a generous share of credit for the ultimately successful operation of Fitch's boat belongs to Voight. Fitch, who was not a man to overestimate his contemporaries, wrote of him:

Mr. Voight is a Plain Dutchman, who fears no man, and will always speak his sentiments, which has given offence to some members of our Co., and some of them have effected to have a contemptible an opinion of his Philosophic abilities. It is true he is not a man of Letters, nor mathematical Knowledge, but for my part, I would depend on him more than a Franklin, a Rittenhouse, an Ellicot, a Nancarrow, and Matlack, all combined, as he is a man of superior Mechanical abilities, and Very considerable Natural Philosophy; and as we have many of the first Geniuses in our Co., perhaps nearly equal to those I have mentioned, it is certain that he has pointed out more defects than them all, and pointed out ways to remedy those defects, when consternation sat silent in every breast for the disaster.

In his famous pamphlet, *The original steam-boat supported* (Philadelphia, 1788), Fitch recorded:

It is proper I should not pass over this part of my work without acknowledging, that I have been greatly indebted to the assistance of my ingenious friend Mr. Henry Voight of this city: who has uniformly, from my first undertaking to build a boat, afforded me valuable hints; and has united with

me in perfecting my plans. To his inventive genius alone, I am indebted for the improvement in our mode of creating steam.

At Voight's suggestion a small model engine with a cylinder one inch in diameter was first constructed. Although it cost but £3 Pennsylvania currency, and suffered from numerous defects, it seems to have convinced its makers of the correctness of their fundamental ideas, and much encouraged, they proceeded at once to build a double-acting engine with a three-inch cylinder. A small skiff was also fitted up "in order to try the effect of the propelling apparatus by hand." Considerable difficulty was experienced in devising a satisfactory method of propulsion. Various types of paddle wheels were tried with indifferent success, but eventually a series of crank-operated oars on each side of the boat was adopted and successfully tested on July 27, 1786. The engine alone cost the company about one hundred dollars. In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, Fitch remarked of it:

The principles upon which it operates are good, and will in every respect communicate a satisfactory Knowledge of a steam Engine, and in some measure of its power. Yet it has some defects, which are chiefly the following, viz.—1st the stove and Boiler, being small, the steam is not sufficient to move the Piston, more than about twenty strokes per minut. 2nd The Piston, being worked both ways by steam, its rod soon becomes heated, that it cannot move home one way, by a space of from half an inch to Two inches, by its then creating steam. 3rd The Pumps which alternately inject water into the Cylinder causes too small friction; yet notwithstanding these Difficulties the Piston moves with considerable Velocity, when unloaded, and is supplied with steam.

This engine was apparently not actually installed in the skiff but served its purpose in demonstrating the

soundness of the double-acting principle and in establishing many of the practical features of a satisfactory engine. The experience gained with the skiff and experimental engines encouraged Fitch and the members of the company to make immediate preparations for building a boat of sufficient size to be useful in carrying passengers and freight. By the end of the year 1786 the work had so far progressed that the following description of this boat appeared in the *Columbian magazine* (Philadelphia, December, 1786):

It is to be propelled through the water by the force of steam; the steam-engine is to be similar to the late improved steam-engines in Europe, those alterations excepted; the cylinder is to be horizontal, and the steam to work with equal force at each end thereof.—The mode of forming a vacuum is believed to be entirely new; also of letting the water into it, and throwing it off against the atmosphere, without any friction. The undertakers are also of opinion that their engine will work with an equal force to those late improved engines, it being a twelve inch cylinder; they expect it will move with a clear force, after deducting the friction, of between eleven and twelve hundred pounds weight—which force is to be applied to the turning of an axle-tree on a wheel of 18 inches diameter. The piston is to move about three feet; and each vibration of the piston turns the axle-tree about two thirds round. They propose to make the piston to strike thirty strokes in a minute, which will give the axle-tree about forty revolutions. Each revolution of the axle-tree moves twelve oars five and a half feet; as six oars come out of the water, six more enter the water, which makes a stroke of about eleven feet each revolution. The oars work perpendicular, and make a stroke similar to the paddle of a canoe. The cranks of the axle-tree act upon the oar about one third of their length from their lower end, on which part of the oar, the whole force of the axle-tree is applied. The engine is placed in about the thirds of the boat, and both the action and re-action of the piston operate to turn the axle-tree the same way.

The new engine was not completed until May, 1787, and when installed in the boat it developed seemingly endless defects. The wooden caps of the cylinder leaked, the piston was loose, the condenser was useless and had to be replaced, the steam valves were imperfect, and the boiler was too small. It was necessary to rebuild much of the machinery. The difficulties were not due to failure in understanding the underlying principles but rather to lack of practical experience in proportioning the various parts. Each component presented individual problems which could be solved only empirically by trial and error, and the correct relationships of these components one with another were necessarily matters for experimental determination. Fitch and Voight were, in the words of Westcott, "forced to grope in the dark, as it were, feeling their way, and being painfully instructed by the comparative failure of the different parts of the engine . . . only making experiments where they had hoped for triumphant success."

The records of this work indicate very clearly that Fitch was fully aware of the latest developments achieved by Boulton and Watt. His engine was essentially Watt's double-acting engine with steam introduced alternately on both sides of the piston, jet condensation in a separate condenser, and an air pump to draw off the condensing water and exhaust the condenser. Many of the details of Watt's design were modified or independently discovered and put into practice. Voight designed a tubular boiler for rapid steam generation of which Fitch wrote:

A fear of departing from old established plans, made me fearful of adopting it, until I found by his invention of creating steam, that a condenser might be constructed on the same principles (viz a spiral pipe or worm) only by reversing the agent, for the best way of applying fire to evaporate water

into steam, must also be the best way of applying cold water to condense steam, that is the bringing the greatest quantity of fire into action upon the greatest surface of water—or the contrary—And we had an additional inducement to study this subject, because the common way of fixing boilers, required so great a load of brick work, that it over-loaded our boat. Therefore, the first thought that must occur to every man, attempting to raise steam on board a boat, must be to acquire that method which would require the least weight.

VII

THE changes were finally completed, and on August 22, 1787, the boat was successfully tried on the Delaware river in the presence of most of the members of the Constitutional Convention. On August 27, 1787, President Ezra Stiles of Yale College noted in his diary: "Judge Ellsworth, a member of the Federal Convention, just returned from Philadelphia visited me, and tells me the Convention will not rise under three weeks. He there saw a Steam-Engine for rowing boats against the stream, invented by Mr. Fitch, of Windsor, in Connecticut. He was on board the boat, and saw the experiment succeed." Somewhat later in the year David Rittenhouse recorded that he had "frequently seen Mr. Fitch's steam-boat, which he has at length compleated, and has likewise been on board when the boat was worked against both wind and tide, with a very considerable degree of velocity, by the force of steam only."

Although successful, in that it had demonstrated for the first time the practicability of steam as applied to navigation, the boat of 1787 did not satisfy its promoters. The comparatively small power developed by the engine resulted in a speed not much greater than four miles an hour, which was substantially less than that optimistically promised by Fitch. The boat itself was too small

to be commercially profitable as a packet and the propelling machinery was too unreliable and occupied far too much valuable space. It was therefore decided to begin again, construct a new and improved engine with an eighteen-inch cylinder, build a larger hull, and place the propelling paddles at the stern of the vessel.

This new boat was first tried with the old engine early in the summer of 1788, making a trip from Philadelphia to Burlington, a distance of twenty miles. A boiler explosion at the conclusion of the trip failed to discourage the company, and after repairs and minor improvements to the machinery, a number of similar trips were made. During the winter and spring of 1788-89 the new engine was completed and installed. Immediately fresh difficulties arose. To meet them new types of condensers were tried and discarded, a new air pump was built, and the boiler was altered. Finally, on April 12, 1790, the machinery was put in motion and operated so powerfully that a pulley was snapped. This was quickly repaired, and with high hopes a second trial was made of which Fitch wrote in his journal:

On the 16th of April, got our work compleated, and tried our Boat again; and altho the wind blew very fresh at the north east, we reigned Lord High Admirals of the Deleware, and no boat in the River could hold its way with us, but all fell astern, although several sail boats, which were very light, and heavy sails, that brought their gunwales well down in the water, came out to try us. We also passed many boats with oars, and strong manned, and no loading, and [they] seemed to stand still when we passed them. We also run round a vessel that was beating to windward in about two miles, which had half a mile start of us, and came in without any of our works failing. . . . Thus has been effected, by little Johnny Fitch and Harry Voight, one of the greatest and most useful arts that has ever been introduced into the world; and although the

world and my country does not thank me for it, yet it gives me heartfelt satisfaction.

The problem of steam navigation had been solved. Five years to a day from Fitch's first conception of a steamboat as the instrument for opening up the commerce of the continent, he was guiding such a vessel up and down the Delaware river. Judged in the light of a later day the little boat was crude beyond belief. Viewed from the standpoint of the year 1790 it was close to a miracle. Fitch himself, with that rare insight which so often characterized him, modestly appraised the accomplishment when he wrote: "If we never carry it to any greater degree of perfection, we have merited a generous reward for laying the foundations for future improvements."

The boat was immediately put into shape to receive passengers, and within six weeks was operating upon a regular commercial schedule. The first announcement of the service appeared in the *Federal gazette* of Philadelphia for June 14, 1790:

The Steamboat is now ready to take passengers, and is intended to set off from Arch street Ferry, in Philadelphia, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, & Trenton, to return on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Price for passengers, 2/6 to Burlington and Bristol, 3/9 to Bordentown, 6s. to Trenton.

Throughout the summer twenty-three such advertisements appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers announcing the schedule of sailings. It is estimated that from June 14 to September 10 the boat covered between two and three thousand miles and carried many hundreds of passengers. No serious accidents occurred. The grate burned out. "The axle-trees broke twice; there was

nothing but these accidents which could not be repaired in a single hour or two," wrote Fitch. "The boat ran five hundred miles between these accidents." A speed in excess of seven miles an hour was maintained, a record not to be equaled for over twenty years.

Something of the feeling of Fitch's friends was expressed in an anonymous letter written from Philadelphia on August 13, 1790, to the *New York magazine*:

Fitch's steamboat really performs to a charm. It is a pleasure, while one is on board of her in a contrary wind, to observe her superiority over the river shallops, sloops, ships, &c. who, to gain any thing, must make a zigzag course, while this, our new invented vessel, proceeds in a direct line. On Sunday morning she sets off for Chester, and engages to return in the evening—40 miles. God willing, I intend to be one of the passengers, were it only to encourage American ingenuity and the fine arts. Fitch is certainly one of the most ingenious creatures alive, and will certainly make his fortune.

This prediction was not to be fulfilled, however, for at the very height of his triumph Fitch was already facing the total collapse of the enterprise.

VIII

THE law under which Virginia had granted Fitch a monopoly of steam navigation within its jurisdiction (which included Kentucky, Ohio, and the Northwest) contained the provision that it would become void by November 7, 1790, unless "the said John Fitch shall then have in use, on some river of this commonwealth, boats, or craft of at least twenty tons burthen, constructed and navigated" according to his invention as described in the grant. To meet this requirement it was necessary to build another vessel. An attempt was made to complete it in time, but progress was slow, new difficulties of a

mechanical nature arose, and all hope of retaining the Virginia monopoly vanished when a storm blew the new boat upon Petty's island, opposite the northern end of Philadelphia. All but three or four members of the company abandoned the undertaking, and Fitch, after a few desperate but unsuccessful attempts to raise further funds with which to carry on the work, turned his thoughts toward other occupations.

Abandonment of the enterprise occurred in the face of a wholly successful demonstration of its technical and commercial soundness. The expenses incurred had been modest in comparison with the positive accomplishment; the pressing need for better transportation throughout the West was yearly becoming more evident; and at the very moment when lack of support was forcing Fitch to give up his cherished schemes, Samuel Morey was starting work upon another steamboat on the Connecticut river. Unfortunately, in spite of his technical success, Fitch had to a large extent lost the confidence and support of his associates. His constant appeals for financial aid; his endless public quarrels with rivals, especially with the powerfully supported Rumsey; his frequent lack of decision in the management of the affairs of the steamboat company; and such personal idiosyncrasies as his active promulgation of unorthodox Unitarian views on religion and his outspoken Anti-Federalist stand in politics had alienated the conservative Philadelphians and made further financing of his work impossible.

Loss of the Virginia monopoly also entailed loss of the exclusive rights to navigate the Western waters by steam, removing much of the incentive to further effort, since the purpose of the undertaking had been from the very first to exploit the commerce of the Western waters.

In one of his last reports to the members of the company, Fitch lamented:

That we have brought our scheme so far to perfection as to convince the World that a steam engine may be introduced into a Boat to advantage, is one of the greatest consolations. But that the time necessarily employed in the pursute has extended beyond the limit unfortunately assigned by the state of Virginia, is the cause of our greatest greiff. Our expectations of extensive profits, you well know, were built on exclusive rights to navigate the Western Waters.

Finally, it appears from the testimony of Dr. William Thornton, a member of the company and afterwards superintendent of the United States patent office, that in building the last boat "a spirit of innovation having seized some of the Company, and their attempts to simplify the machine having ruined it, their unsuccessful endeavors to make it work subjected them to debts, which obliged them to sacrifice both boats and all the machinery."

Although practical work on the steamboat had been abandoned in the fall of 1790, it was hoped that something might still be salvaged by transferring operations to Europe. Fitch had entered into an agreement with Aaron Vail, United States consul at L'Orient, France, whereby the latter was authorized to take out patents in the leading European countries. Such a patent was actually secured in France on November 20, 1791. The United States patent had been issued on August 26, 1791, and with the encouragement afforded by these grants, some fitful attempts were made to renew the experimental work, but nothing of importance was accomplished. Fitch seems to have supported himself during this period by working at his old trade of silversmith in a shop on Second Street, Philadelphia, but much of his time was

occupied in writing the history of his life and of the steamboat project. This he completed in the autumn of 1792 and then, under the patronage of John Nicholson, a wealthy land speculator, he turned his attention to the development of a boat to be operated by a horse-driven treadmill. This boat was an idea of Henry Voight's which had been patented in 1791, and Fitch seems to have been employed by Nicholson merely to supervise its construction. Difficulties over ownership of the patent caused the abandonment of the work in February, 1793.

A final attempt to revive the steamboat enterprise was made in 1793, when the remaining members of the old company decided to send Fitch to France. It was the intention that he should build a steamboat at L'Orient under the general supervision of Vail, but upon his arrival he found the country in the throes of revolution and was able to accomplish nothing. He spent some time in London, where he published a pamphlet on an original method of keeping a ship's traverse, and then returned to the United States, arriving destitute in Boston early in January, 1794.

IX

FROM Boston, it is believed, Fitch returned for a visit to his old home in Connecticut, but of that visit no precise record remains. Whether he met Samuel Morey, who was actively engaged in steamboat work on the Connecticut river, is a matter of conjecture, but Fitch's own steamboat days were over. He seems to have spent about two years in East Windsor with his brother-in-law, Timothy King, and then he set out on his final journey to the West. He passed through Trenton and Philadelphia, renewed old acquaintances, and finally reached Bardstown, Kentucky.

The only account by an eye-witness of his last days in Kentucky is that which the Honorable Robert Wickliffe wrote over a half century later at the request of Thompson Westcott, Fitch's biographer:

I remember to have seen John Fitch during his residence in Bardstown, Kentucky, but had no particular acquaintance with him personally. He was pretty far advanced in life and intemperance when I first saw him, and he was then residing in the house of Alexander M'Conn, a tavern keeper, in Bardstown, where he continued to live during the remainder of his life Before he reached his land it had been seated and possessed by adverse claimants. He brought suits against the trespassers, and after long and protracted controversies, was successful. Those who were intimate with him assure me of their belief that Fitch's profound mortification in being compelled to abandon his steamboat discoveries, and the new difficulties and legal controversies about his land titles, broke down his spirits and disgusted him with life. McConn . . . informed me that it was the constant burden of his conversation when free from intoxication that he should descend to the grave poor and pennyless, but should leave in his discoveries a legacy to his country that would make her rich. . . . Fitch continued to live with McConn, as I have before stated, until his death; when McConn caused him to be decently interred in the public burying-place at Bardstown.

On July 2, 1798, at the age of 55 years, John Fitch swallowed poison and brought to a close the life of the man who first constructed a successful steamboat. "The day will come," he had written, "when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention; but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do any thing worthy of attention." The first half of that prophecy proved only too true, but history has been kinder to his memory than he anticipated. A century after his first successful demonstration, his native state placed a tablet at the entrance to its capitol in memory of "The genius,

patience and perseverance of John Fitch, a native of the town of Windsor, the first to apply steam successfully to the propulsion of vessels through water."

X

THE work of John Fitch marked the opening chapter in the history of the practical development of steam navigation in the United States. Subsequent experimenters were indebted to him less for the details of their machinery than for the impetus which his success gave to the growing realization that in steam lay the solution to the problem of navigating the rivers of the continent. Before the close of the eighteenth century numerous inventors from New Hampshire to Georgia were actively engaged upon that problem, several successful steamboats had been constructed, and substantially all the methods of applying the steam engine to marine propulsion, including hydraulic reaction, mechanical oars, paddle wheels, and the screw propeller, had been tried.

Several natives of Connecticut made practical contributions to this development. The work of Samuel Morey, Elijah Ormsbee, and Daniel French has been neglected by historians, for it had neither the spectacular novelty of Fitch's pioneer efforts nor did it result in notable commercial success, and present-day knowledge of the accomplishments of these men is consequently meager and, to a large degree, traditional.

Samuel Morey was born at Hebron, Connecticut, in 1762, but the family early removed to Orford, New Hampshire, where Morey was educated, where he acquired a taste for mechanical pursuits, and where, about 1790, he commenced experimental work with steam. By 1793 he had completed a small boat with an engine in the bow and had operated it successfully on

the Connecticut river. He then removed to Hartford, constructed a stern-wheel steamboat, and navigated it from Hartford to New York, spending two or three years on further experimental work in the latter city. During this period he is reputed to have used a screw propeller. In 1797 he went to Bordentown, New Jersey, where he joined Burgess Allison and constructed a side-wheel steamboat which was operated on the Delaware river between Bordentown and Philadelphia. Morey and his partner Allison were both capable mechanics but financial difficulties brought their experiments to an end. Morey was granted a number of patents, including a steam-operated spit in 1793, a rotary steam engine in 1795, further improvements in steam engines in 1803 and 1815, and one of the earliest American internal combustion engines in 1826. He died April 17, 1843.

Elijah Ormsbee, a Connecticut carpenter and millwright, experienced in repairing and operating the atmospheric steam engines used in pumping out mines, turned his attention to steam navigation about 1792. In coöperation with David Wilkinson of Rhode Island, an iron founder and machinist, he succeeded in building a steamboat. It is not known that the boat was actually placed in commercial service, but a number of successful trial trips were made between Providence and Pawtucket. Wilkinson, in his unpublished journal, wrote:

I . . . made my patterns, cast and bored the cylinder; and made the wrought iron work, and Ormsbee hired a large boat of John Brown belonging to one of his large India ships—should think about twelve tons. I told him of two plans of paddles,—one I called the flutter wheel, and the other the goose-foot paddle. We made the goose-foot to open and shut with hinges, as the driving power could be much cheaper applied than the paddle wheel . . . After having the boat in operation, we exhibited it near Providence between the two

bridges After our frolic was over, being short of funds, we hauled the boat up and gave it over.

Daniel French of Berlin, Connecticut, an ingenious mechanic who at that time was engaged in perfecting nail-making machinery, examined Ormsbee's boat before it was dismantled and later carried on experiments of his own in the same field. In 1809, having removed to New York, he was granted a patent on an oscillating steam engine for propelling boats, and shortly thereafter he settled in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, organized the Monongahela Steam Navigation Company, and built the steamer *Enterprise* of forty-five tons. This vessel, placed in service in 1814, was one of the first steamboats successfully to ascend the Mississippi river. In 1816 it was destroyed by a boiler explosion which resulted in heavy loss of life. In 1814 French formed a partnership with Thomas Copeland and engaged in building steam engines on a commercial scale. He was an early advocate of the high-pressure engine and a rival of Oliver Evans in the business of supplying the machinery for Ohio and Mississippi river steamboats.

In 1797 Jehoshaphat Starr of Connecticut patented improvements in propelling boats and vessels by steam engines, but the extent of his practical work is not recorded.

Apollos Kinsley of Hartford, better known for the printing press which he patented in 1796, was soon after that date working with John Stevens in Hoboken, New Jersey, on the development of steamboats. The *Phoenix*, probably the first steam-powered vessel to be navigated on the ocean (June, 1809), was an outgrowth of this work.

It is significant that the Connecticut men who applied themselves most successfully to the early development

of steam navigation carried on much of their work outside the borders of the state. Mechanical skill, fostered by the diversified industrial needs of New England at the close of the eighteenth century, was directed to the solution of a problem of the utmost importance to New York, Pennsylvania, and the West. While the steamboat eventually found a modest place in the commerce of the Connecticut river valley, the needs of the growing West provided both the initial incentive for its development and the field of its immediate social utility. By 1819, when Moses Rogers of New London navigated the *Savannah* across the Atlantic Ocean, the steamboat had ceased to be an experiment.

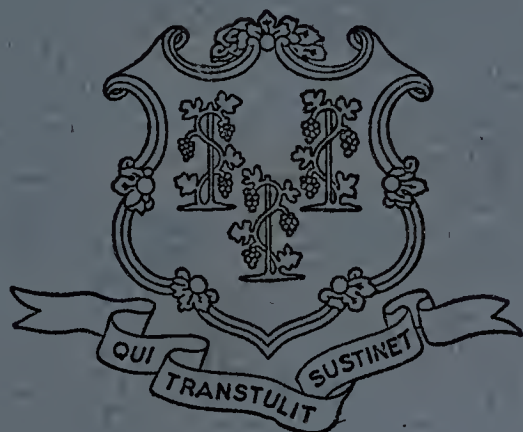
Bibliographical Note

JOHN FITCH left a more voluminous record of his work than any other eighteenth-century American inventor. The controversy with Rumsey over priority resulted in a mass of contemporary pamphlet and periodical comment. The regular operation of the steamboat on the Delaware river during the summer of 1790, and the interest which it aroused among the members of congress and of the American Philosophical Society caused it to be widely discussed in the private correspondence of the day. Fitch used every effort to bring it into public notice. Frequent petitions and memorials to the state and national legislatures, constant personal solicitations of the leaders of business, politics, and science, and a judicious use of newspaper advertising served to focus contemporary attention upon the enterprise. Finally, at the conclusion of the experiments, Fitch himself, with an eye to posthumous fame, prepared an elaborate history of the project which he deposited with the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia. That history is one of the most interesting documents of the kind in existence, but, although it has long been known to students of Fitch and of the steamboat, it remains to this day unpublished.

The standard life of John Fitch is that by Thompson Westcott (Philadelphia, 1857). Important collections of Fitch's original papers are in the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the Library of Congress.

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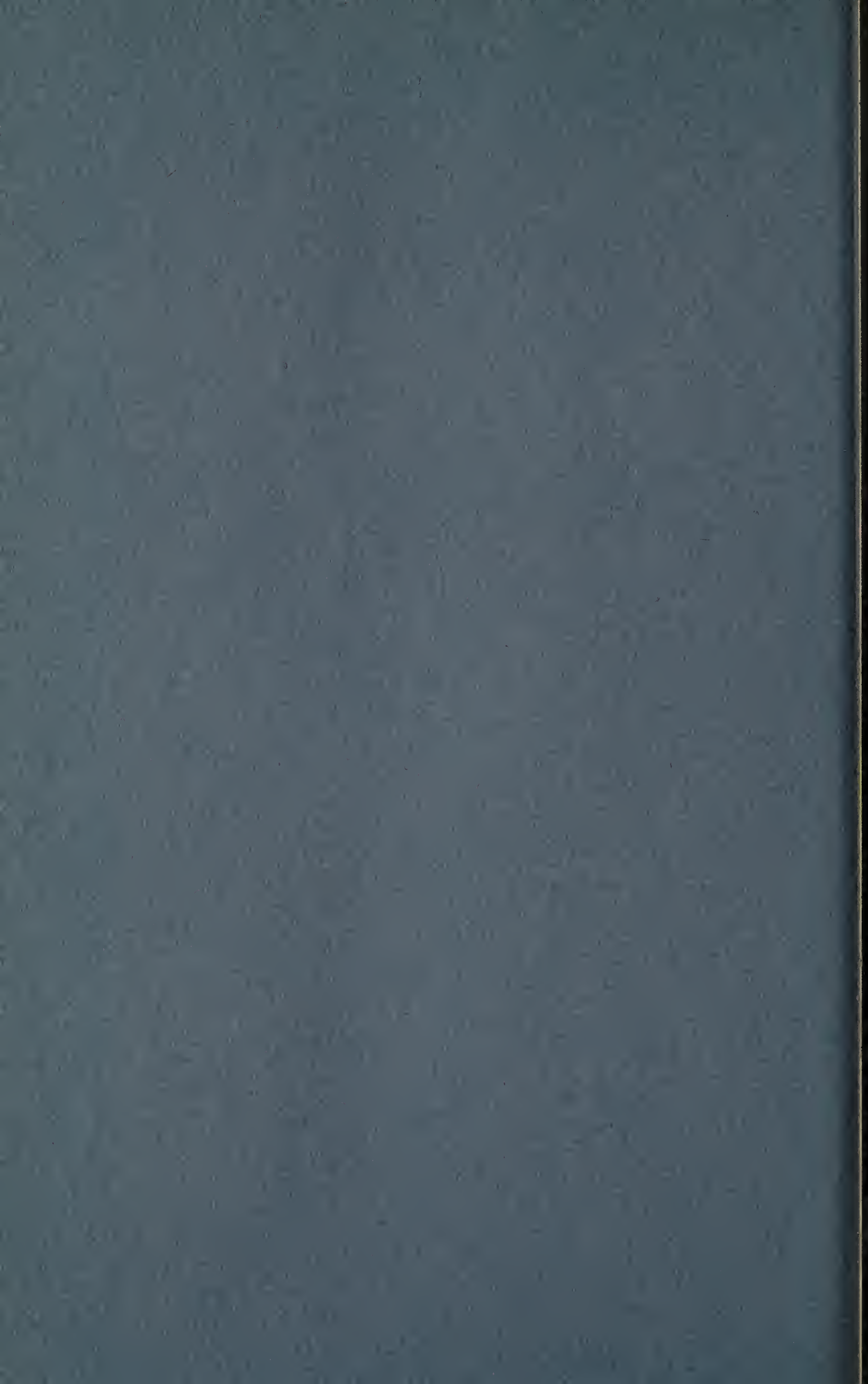
LIV

Migrations from Connecticut after 1800

LOIS KIMBALL MATHEWS ROSENBERRY

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COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

LIV

Migrations from Connecticut after 1800

LOIS KIMBALL MATHEWS ROSENBERRY¹

I

THE keynote to the history of the United States in the nineteenth century is to be found in its westward expansion. The purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 doubled the area of the United States, thereby facilitating the opportunity for new settlements. No state, in proportion to its size and population, played a more important rôle in this expansion than Connecticut.

In a previous study² there has been shown the large emigration, after 1783, from Connecticut, western Massachusetts, and Vermont (both districts originally settled by pioneers from Connecticut) into central and western New York. This emigration continued after 1800, and was typical of later emigration into the Northwest Territory. The restless and discontented elements often moved first; but the next settlers were a more substantial group, farmers in the "meridian of life" whose families made up the settlements. Generally, they were

¹The author is indebted to Mr. Roland Mather Hooker for assistance in putting the manuscript into final form.

²See Lois K. M. Rosenberry, *Migrations from Connecticut prior to 1800* (No. XXVIII in this series).

supplied with enough money not only to buy farms, but also to make improvements, and therefore were exempt from the privations of the earlier pioneers who had sold out to these later comers and migrated farther west. Mechanics followed farmers, with the hope of attaining greater prosperity than they had enjoyed in their old homes, "by adding the business of a farm to their mechanic employment." Mills were erected, and the whole community took on an appearance of permanence, which it had lacked in the earlier days. Here, however, in consequence of the intermixture of emigrants, diversity in thought and taste was apparent; the churches, town meetings, and schools were no longer precisely of the Puritan type, though the traditions of all were preserved in the new institutions. With the arrival of the first emigrants from Connecticut, in the early days of New York, the incoming missionaries had been a great stimulus to education, and as the interior of the state offered them opportunity, churches were widely extended as the population increased. Yet, "Every new method in religion, every new suggestion in theology, found hospitable reception there," though the theories were not always sane or practical.

Warsaw will serve as a type of the growth of a town in New York between 1812 and 1837. Settled in 1803-1804 from Vermont by way of Granville, it had not many inhabitants in its early years. One of the early settlers, at the age of forty, had already moved six times since, in his childhood, his parents had left his birthplace of Bozrah, Connecticut. In Colchester and Hebron, in Sandisfield and Great Barrington, in Green River and Genesee, he had tried his luck, and had finally settled in Warsaw. Many of his neighbors came from the Connecticut towns of Canaan, Lebanon, Canterbury, Chesh-

ire, Hartford, Warren, Guilford, Hartland, and Colchester.

After the War of 1812 the interest in settlement centered elsewhere; "the West" moved on into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The overflow from New England still carried settlers to New York and Pennsylvania; but the process was one of filling in those states whose organization had been perfected, and whose institutions had passed beyond the formative stage. The emigrants from New England took their thrift and enterprise with them, and contributed substantially to the prosperity of their adopted homes. It seemed to Timothy Dwight that the inhabitants of New York and New England were substantially one people, "with the same interests of every kind inseparably united." That observant traveler noted the increase in New York's population from 1790 when it was 340,120, through 1800 when it was 484,620, till 1810 when it had reached 959,220. He estimated that from three fifths to two thirds of this increase had originated from New England, and thought the population increasing continually; he considered New York would be ultimately but "a Colony from New-England," whose inhabitants crowded in for commercial as well as agricultural betterment. This Connecticut and New England invasion of New York, while well received by those who had lived there previously, had at least one interesting result in the founding by Washington Irving, in 1835, of a society of "old New Yorkers," which became known as the St. Nicholas Society, to combat the growing social influence of New Englanders in New York City.

II

BEFORE discussing the migrations to the Western states, mention must be made of Connecticut's influence in the

South. Lewis Judson of Stratford founded in Mobile, Alabama, soon after 1795, the trading establishment of John Forbes and Company, and Josiah Blakeley of New Haven moved to the same place about 1806, after a six-year residence in Santiago de Cuba. Joseph E. Sheffield, a native of Southport, Connecticut, and the founder of the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, was the leading cotton merchant in Mobile for some years prior to 1835. Significant, for the education of Southern women, was the incorporation in 1831 of the Huntsville Female Seminary at Huntsville, Alabama, an institution which has had a long and successful history. It was organized and carried on for a time by Miss Frances Strong and three other members who had been on the faculty of Miss Catherine Beecher's school, the Hartford Female Seminary.

Farther to the south and west lies Texas. In 1820 Moses Austin made plans to remove his family and others in a colony to this Spanish outpost which lay on the extreme southwestern border of the great Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Born in Durham, Connecticut, in 1761, reared in Middletown, Moses Austin moved, as a young man, just at the close of the Revolutionary War, to Philadelphia. He had become interested in lead mining and smelting as he had seen it in Middletown, and, after a short sojourn, removed to Virginia, where opportunities in this industry seemed larger. In 1798 he moved to Missouri where he established the town of Potosi "to which his own contribution was an improved furnace, a shot-tower and a mill for making sheet-lead, a saw-mill, a flour-mill, a store, and a house for his family." Here he prospered, and in 1816 he joined with others in organizing the Bank of St. Louis. But the panic of 1819 swept away everything he possessed, and it was then

that he made plans to move to Texas. He died before the transplanting of his colony was completed, and it was his son, Stephen, who became known as the founder of Texas.

III

TURNING again to the North, the settlements of Marietta and of the Western Reserve in Ohio belonged, in their inception, to the period before the election of Thomas Jefferson, although the greatest emigrations came after that event. A typical pioneer was James Kilbourne, born in New Britain, Connecticut. In 1802 he formed a company, with seven associates, to move to the Northwest Territory. Kilbourne went ahead to explore the country and to pick out a tract for forty families. Upon his return a Scioto Company was formed, forty persons admitted, and the articles of association signed. In 1803 a schoolhouse, a log church, a blacksmith shop, and twelve cabins were erected where Worthington now stands. A hundred persons settled there that year. Here was founded the first Episcopal church in Ohio; and Worthington College, with Kilbourne as president of the board of trustees, was chartered in 1817. Nor did that energetic pioneer confine his labors to his own town; he also served in the Ohio legislature and in congress.

By 1810 the frontier line in Ohio extended in a curve from the shore of Lake Erie to the western border of the state. Connecticut men and women had built homes in half of the Western Reserve, in the Marietta region, and were scattered throughout the central and southern parts of the state as well. The War of 1812 retarded settlement in Ohio, due to fear of the Indians, but with the signing of the treaty of peace new lands were opened up and economic conditions in the East attendant upon the war

also stimulated emigration. The last years of the conflict had borne hard upon the population of the New England coast, what with the embargo, the seizure of numbers of coasting vessels, and coastal attacks such as that attempted upon Stonington. Prices had risen, in consequence of the war as well as from a succession of poor seasons for agriculture. Many persons who had been fairly prosperous before the war found themselves beggared and forced to begin life anew. Stimulated by reports of returning settlers and travelers, emigrants hastened again into the wilderness, pushing the frontier out to the Mississippi. The sales of public lands increased up to 1819, when the panic of that year caused a temporary decline; after 1822 the sales again increased; speculation reached a climax just before the panic of 1837. The abandonment, by the Government, of the credit system of land sales in 1821 probably affected the Connecticut emigrants but little, for they were accustomed to pay for their lands at once, and to make improvements with their remaining capital.

The Western Reserve was rapidly populated with Connecticut people, who not only carried old names to new homes, but who also transplanted the distinctive character of their earlier abode. The Reverend Timothy Flint found there a large and compact population, distinct from any other in Ohio, and noted the "equal dispersion of farms over the surface," the tendency to support schools and churches, "exceedingly like the parent people from which they sprung." The Connecticut settlers of Medina county who had been accustomed to dairying soon introduced the enterprise. Agricultural societies, to which the settlers had been habituated at home, grew up here quite as a matter of course. By 1833 the people, who had before met rather informally to show

the best cattle and products, had begun to form such societies; the permanent organization of these societies dated from 1845.

These settlers, having in mind the founding of Yale College, desired a similar institution of higher learning in northern Ohio. Western Reserve College, chartered in 1826, was modeled after Yale, both in its curriculum and in the organization of its governing board, the majority of which was to be composed of clergymen. Its first president was Dr. George E. Pierce, a graduate of Yale in 1816, who was said to have been thoroughly imbued with the Connecticut idea of a college. Most of the faculty were Yale men, and, from the first, there was an interchange of instructors, Yale graduates teaching at Western Reserve and the Western college sending its graduates to teach at New Haven.

Oberlin, in Lorain county, deserves more than passing mention. In 1833, when the site of the future town was still a wilderness, a tract three miles square was secured. Here a number of families, mostly from New England, gathered to plant a town, a church, and a college. Philo Stewart, reared in Vermont but born in Connecticut, was one of the leaders in this movement which was especially designed to train young people as foreign missionaries. Stewart was anxious that the students might defray their expenses by manual labor and yet keep on with their studies. He had been educated in the academy of Pawlet, Vermont, where he had studied and worked during odd moments in his uncle's shop. In that academy young men and women had worked and studied side by side; his school must, then, he felt, include manual training and coeducation. A five-hundred-acre tract for a "Manual Labor School" was obtained, and the settlers vowed themselves to a life of simplicity,

especial devotion to church and school, and to earnest labor in the missionary cause.

Nor were Oberlin settlers content with one missionary enterprise; Olivet College in Michigan, founded in 1844, was a child of Oberlin, as was Tabor College, founded in 1851 in Iowa. Oberlin graduates helped build Hillsdale College in Michigan; Ripon College in Wisconsin; Grinnell College in Iowa; Drury College in Springfield, Missouri; and Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. President Fairchild said that the impulse of a new college, growing from small beginnings, had seemed to impress many Oberlin students, and that they had gone forth with the thought of undertaking a similar enterprise.

The church in Oberlin was organized in 1834, with sixty-two members; its confession of faith was of the New England Calvinistic type, but the church nevertheless connected itself with the Cleveland Presbytery, under a "plan of union" similar to that already in operation in New York. The same plan was followed by practically all the early settlers of the Western Reserve, whose churches, while Congregational in spirit, maintained outward fellowship through connection with some presbytery.

By 1840 Ohio's ungranted lands had been completely occupied, and the state had passed out of the pioneer stage. The population had become comparatively dense, the whole state more homogeneous, and New Englanders had settled throughout the state. The census of 1850 showed that 23,000 of Ohio's people had emigrated from Connecticut.

IV

UNTIL 1816, the chief migrations from Connecticut were to western New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, but

after the panic of 1819, Connecticut emigrants began to filter into Indiana. One of the early settlers of Cass county migrated in 1826 from his birthplace, New Canaan, Connecticut. One reads sketches of men of Connecticut birth who came in these early days from Ohio and New York, where they had lived for a few years, but who, at this period, had moved on to cheaper land. The great influx of Connecticut settlers into Indiana began in 1830. Certain counties came gradually, in the succeeding years, to be known as New England counties. These lay generally along the northern border, dipping south on the eastern boundary, with scattered settlers in the center. La Grange county, in the northeastern part of the state, will illustrate this point. The leading spirit, for many years, in the town of Wolcottville was George Wolcott, born in Torrington, Connecticut, who came to Indiana in 1837. Early settlers, whose lives were woven into the history of the county, came from the Connecticut towns of Sherman, Lebanon, Fairfield, Hartford, and Windham. La Porte county drew some of its early settlers from Colchester, Wethersfield, Granby, and New Haven.

An incident from Lake county history shows the Connecticut perseverance in gaining what the people of that section regarded as their rights. The settlers of Lake county, squatters upon unsold lands, were waiting for the passage by congress of a preëmption law which would insure them their homes. John Robinson, a native of Connecticut, called a meeting at his house on July 4, 1836, where he was appointed one of a committee to draft a constitution for a "Squatters Union." It was declared that actual settlers should have the lands at \$1.25 per acre and that if congress did not protect the settlers, they would themselves take "such measures as

may be necessary" to secure their just claims. Each signer was to use his influence to persuade his friends to join the union, "under the full assurance that we shall now obtain our rights, and that it is now perfectly as safe to go on improving the public land as though we already had our titles from government."

V

FEW settlers entered Illinois from Connecticut until 1817. Among the first were three Collins brothers from Litchfield, Connecticut, who settled Collinsville, Madison county, opposite St. Louis, in that year. They used the same power for a distillery and a sawmill, ran a cooper shop, a blacksmith shop, a wagon shop, and a carpenter shop, and owned warehouses both in Collinsville and in St. Louis. They were not wholly engrossed in money getting, however, as they, with their neighbors, built a union meetinghouse which was used for the public school during the week, and for a Sunday school after church service. When the father of these men arrived in 1824, he made the first substantial subscription for Illinois College. Yale graduates were the founders of this college at Jacksonville, and one of them, Julian M. Sturtevant, a native of Warren, Connecticut, was its president for over thirty years.

The Missouri Compromise directed Southern migration, which had previously flowed into southern Illinois, to the land across the Missouri river, leaving the fourteen northern counties of Illinois for the New Englanders and New Yorkers. Most of these later emigrants from the East were wealthy farmers, enterprising merchants, millers, and manufacturers with great public spirit, who built mills, churches, schoolhouses, and cities and made roads and bridges. A strong sectional antagonism sprang

up, due to mutual misunderstanding between the northern and southern parts of the state, which came to a climax in 1840. A mass meeting was held at Rockford in Winnebago county, on the northern border, where one hundred and twenty delegates, some of them natives of Connecticut, met and resolved that the northern counties should become annexed to Wisconsin. In August, 1842, the question of annexation was put to a popular vote and was favored 976 to 6. Nothing came of this plan, but it had its significance in indicating the length to which the northern pioneers would go rather than be dominated by an element foreign in aims and interest to their own.

The Wethersfield colony in Henry county was settled by a company formed of men from Maine to New York, but its impetus came from the pastor of the Wethersfield, Connecticut, Congregational Church. Each \$250-share entitled its holder to one hundred and sixty acres of prairie land, twenty acres of timber, and a town lot. A committee of three set out in 1836, after \$25,000 had been paid in, and purchased one hundred quarter sections. The town was laid out with wide streets, one block was set apart for a public square, and one for an academy and college. Though only four of the sixty original members of the association ever came to live in the town, it was filled with New Englanders; a Congregational church was organized in 1839 with fifteen members; and the town of Kewanee perpetuated these pioneers by giving its streets such names as Dwight, Edwards, Tenney, Payson, and Hollis.

Cook county, which included the city of Chicago, drew many settlers from Connecticut, including some of its earliest clergymen, bankers, and merchants.

VI

WHILE Michigan was still a territory, two men from Connecticut made their influence felt: William Woodbridge and Isaac Crary. Woodbridge, who was secretary of the territory after 1815, was born in Norwich, Connecticut. He became governor of Michigan in 1839. Crary, the territorial delegate and the first representative Michigan sent to congress, was born in Preston, Connecticut. He had been educated at Bacon Academy, Colchester, Connecticut, and at Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, and had made a study of Cousin's famous report on the Prussian system of education. At the time of the Michigan constitutional convention, Crary was chairman of the committee on education, and to him may be attributed, more than to any one else, Michigan's educational system, at the head of which stands the University of Michigan.

Connecticut migration to Michigan was of slight importance until the publication of John Farmer's maps of Michigan, 1825-1830, which gave accurate information concerning that territory. Before that time Michigan was scarcely known at all, save as a rendezvous for Indians; the lands had not yet been brought into the market, and the man who determined to make a home in such a region must run the risk of being dispossessed as a squatter. By 1830 all this was changed; and by 1837 "it seemed as if all New England were coming" to the state.

A glance at Berrien county will show the character of the Connecticut settlements. From 1831 to 1842 pioneers came from Norwich, Stamford, and New Milford, Connecticut. One pioneer will serve to typify hundreds. John Perrin, his wife, five sons, and four daughters were

the first settlers of Jefferson township, Hillsdale county. In 1835 they left their home in Woodstock, Connecticut, took a vessel from Norwich to Albany, and made their journey through New York over the Erie Canal. At Buffalo they boarded a steamer bound for Detroit, which they reached three weeks from the day they bade good-by to their old home. Leaving the rest of the family behind, the father and his two eldest sons started out from Detroit to locate a farm; they passed Bear Creek valley, traveling on till they found a spring gushing from a rock on the hilly slopes of Jefferson township. All the surroundings were so like the old Connecticut home that there the pioneer cabin was built—the first house in the township. Again and again did the settlers seek out wooded lands which bore a striking resemblance to the tree-covered hills to which they were accustomed in the East.

Migration from Connecticut continued to such an extent that the census of 1880 showed that 6,333 of Michigan's citizens had been born in Connecticut.

VII

IN Wisconsin, the last state to be organized out of the Northwest Territory, the early settlement was typical of what later developed west of the Mississippi river. Save for a few French settlers scattered here and there, Wisconsin was, until 1826, a veritable wilderness. Settlements were begun along the shore of Lake Michigan in 1834. The land in Green county was brought into the market in 1835. Scarcely any of the earliest settlers had come from Connecticut, but some were the children of Connecticut parents who had settled in New York state. Prairie du Chien, an old French town, had, in 1837,

nearly one hundred French families, but only ten American families and four unmarried American men. Among these Americans was an itinerant Methodist preacher from Connecticut.

Racine county is a typical New England region in Wisconsin, for it was, from an early date, a favorite with settlers from the East. Several of the newcomers were from Derby, Cheshire, Bristol, and Colebrook, Connecticut. The settlement of Beloit was formed by a group of families from Colebrook, New Hampshire, who had previously migrated from Colebrook, Connecticut. They planted their village in 1838, and laid out wide streets, which today remind the traveler instantly of a town in the heart of Connecticut. College Street was the name they gave one of the choicest, for they intended from the first to have a college. Beloit College is a memorial of the lofty ideals of these Colebrook emigrants. In its development the college has followed closely the lines of the organization and administration of Yale; many of its presidents and professors have come from that Connecticut institution.

One is certain to come upon Congregational churches wherever a large proportion of New England emigrants is to be found. The First Congregational Church of Janesville had fifteen charter members, eleven of whom came from New England; another had moved from Athens, Pennsylvania, but came from Plainfield, Connecticut, stock. The Prairie church, with eighteen members, numbered five from Vermont and two from Connecticut. Of the four deacons in the Bloomington church one was born in Stonington, Connecticut.

Into the building of a state goes always the character of those men who are most prominent in its history—as governors, judges, legislators, or men of business. A

glance at some whose names are bound up with the story of institutions, political and commercial, which they have built will serve to illustrate what has gone before as to the influence exerted by Connecticut upon this Western state. Of the first eighteen governors of Wisconsin four were born in Connecticut, while another was of Connecticut parentage.

VIII

BEFORE leaving the old Northwest Territory one must speak of the influence of one Connecticut family in particular, that of the Reverend Lyman Beecher, born in New Haven, brought up in Guilford, and a graduate of Yale College. Beecher and his wife, Roxana Foote, also of Guilford, were the parents of a large family of sons and daughters. Their oldest child was Catherine E. Beecher, born in 1800 in East Hampton, Long Island, but when ten years old taken by her parents to Litchfield, Connecticut, which then became the family home. There she attended a private school. When she was about twenty-one she began teaching in a private school for young ladies in New Britain, Connecticut. She later taught in a similar school in Hartford and became the principal of the Hartford Female Seminary. When, in 1832, her father accepted the presidency of Lane Theological Seminary just established in Cincinnati, Ohio, Catherine and her sister, Harriet, went with him and there organized the Western Female Institute on the lines of the Hartford school. Harriet married the Reverend Calvin E. Stowe and exerted a wide influence through her book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Catherine aided in founding "female colleges" in Burlington, Iowa, Quincy, Illinois, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The impress of her personality and of her influence upon the future of higher

education for women in the Northwest Territory can scarcely be overestimated.

Edward Beecher, the third of Dr. Lyman Beecher's children, a graduate of Yale, was the first president of Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois. His brother, Thomas K. Beecher, the twelfth of Lyman Beecher's thirteen children, graduated at Illinois College while his brother Edward was president, married Olivia, daughter of President Day of Yale, and was for forty-six years pastor and pastor emeritus of the Independent Congregational Church of Elmira, New York. Another brother, Henry Ward Beecher, was for several years pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis, Indiana.

IX

ALL through the Colonial period the missionary spirit of the Congregational church had expressed itself in founding towns, churches, and schools. Just before the Revolution, in 1774, the Congregational churches of Connecticut in their general association voted to send missionaries to the latest settlements in Vermont and New York, whither Connecticut pioneers had been thronging. It was only when the Revolutionary War had become a matter of history, when the new national government had been set upon its feet, and when the peril from Indian aggression had apparently been overcome that the missionary spirit was born anew. The movement for sending out missionaries found expression almost simultaneously all over New England, though Connecticut³ in 1798 led the way. In that year the general association of Congregational churches in that state organized itself as a missionary society, "to Chris-

³See Mary H. Mitchell, *The Great Awakening and other revivals in the religious life of Connecticut* (No. XXVI in this series), pp. 36-38.

tianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements of the United States." To stimulate interest in these home missions, an official organ known as *The Connecticut evangelical magazine* was established in 1800, and in 1802 the society received a charter from the Connecticut legislature. Other similar societies in New England followed, but the initiative in the movement came from the Connecticut churches. It was in 1812 and 1813 that the missionary societies of Connecticut and Massachusetts united to send the Reverend Samuel J. Mills, Jr., of Torrington, Connecticut, and the Reverend John F. Schermerhorn on a tour in which they covered a long strip of territory along the western bank of the Mississippi. They found a few Baptists, a few Methodists, and one hundred or more families which had been Congregationalists or Presbyterians, many of them Connecticut born. Moses Austin himself sent for Mills to preach in his settlement. From 1815 to 1827 the Reverend Salmon Giddings of Hartland, Connecticut, did pioneer work in Missouri, and in 1817 gathered nine families, including five from Massachusetts and one from Connecticut, into the First Presbyterian Church in St. Louis. The one Connecticut family was that of the parents of Stephen Hempstead, second governor of the state of Iowa. Giddings and other workers paved the way for the American Home Missionary Society, a general organization of the whole church which was founded in 1826.

One of the most interesting and important manifestations of this "denominational awakening" was a movement for "lay emigration," as it was called. The Reverend Asa Turner, the father of Congregational home missions in Iowa, felt strongly the need for Christian laymen on the frontier. Born in Templeton, Massachu-

setts, of "migratory stock," he was educated at Amherst Academy, Yale College, and Yale Divinity School. Before he left New England to begin his first Illinois pastorate at Quincy, he urged that groups of families should accompany home missionaries to their new fields, to help in church, public school, and Sunday school, "fixing the character of towns, . . . spreading the moral power of New England, and effectually aiding to save the West." He wrote to a friend in 1830: "It is of vast importance to settle a minister in each county as soon as possible. . . . This is the object; to place one missionary in every county, and six or eight pious families . . . without any loss to New England. . . . I mean to bring on a colony with me." And he did take about twenty people West with him in 1833.

The Reverend Aratus Kent, a missionary in the lead-mining region about Galena, Illinois, had the same idea. He, too, wrote in 1830: "A half dozen families of the right stamp, in company with the missionary, in many cases would render his labors doubly efficient. . . . Every new missionary then should have his little colony selected to accompany him, or pledged to follow and settle around him." Kent was born in Suffield, Connecticut, graduated from Yale in 1816, and in 1828 appeared at the office of the American Home Missionary Society in New York City begging, it is said, to be sent "to the hardest place you got." Prairie du Chien, Fort Rock Island, Fort Dearborn, Dubuque, all knew him—the eager, devoted, tireless minister, hoping to influence the miners who ought to "be followed in their wanderings lest they forget the Lord and profane his Sabbath."

X

THE first sermon preached in Keokuk, Iowa, in January,

1837, was delivered by the Reverend Julius A. Reed, a native of East Windsor, Connecticut, who conducted a private school in Natchez, Mississippi, from 1831 to 1833, and went to Iowa in 1833. A group of New England folk in Des Moines was shepherded by the Reverend A. L. Frisbie, a native of Danbury, Connecticut, and his wife, who was born in Connecticut and had graduated from Mount Holyoke. Dr. Frisbie served this church twenty-eight years as an active pastor, and eighteen as pastor emeritus. Another Congregational missionary was the Reverend Reuben Gaylord of Norfolk, Connecticut, who preached in Iowa from 1844 to 1855, when he went as the first Congregational minister to Nebraska. One of the best illustrations of the practical working of lay emigration—which was, after all, only a later phase of the colony plan which New England pioneers had followed from time to time since 1620—is found in the settlement of Denmark, Lee county, Iowa. Shortly after the town was laid out there was established Denmark Academy in 1843. Already the little transplanted New England town thought of a college, but Davenport seemed a better location and in 1848 Iowa College was established there. The original teacher of the little college was the Reverend Erastus Ripley, a native of Coventry, Connecticut, and a member of the Iowa Band of twelve young missionaries from Andover Seminary who were perhaps the most potent force for good in the early history of Iowa. The first financial aid which set the college definitely on its feet was a sum of \$5,080 given in 1853 by Deacon P. W. Carter of Waterbury, Connecticut. In 1859 the college was moved to Grinnell, Iowa, where Yale graduates stood squarely behind it. Grinnell College, as it is now called, has always felt the strong influence of its Connecticut ancestor.

Mention has just been made of the Iowa Band. This was the first of a number of such groups, some of which came from Andover Theological Seminary and some from Yale Divinity School, composed of young ministers, often just graduated and just married, who went into the West and in a number of states laid the foundations not only for the Congregational churches, academies, and colleges, but also for the lay emigration of which the Reverend Asa Turner had held such great hopes. The Iowa Band of twelve worked mainly in Iowa with such success that in 1890 there were three hundred Congregational churches in that state and over 30,000 members. On the Missouri slope of Iowa, in 1848, a colony from Oberlin, Ohio, led by Deacon George A. Gaston, who had served his apprenticeship from 1840 to 1845 as a missionary of the American Board among the Missouri river Indians, settled in what became the town of Tabor. There Tabor College was founded and there John Brown spent some time preparing for his work in Kansas, while two members of the Yale Dakota Band, missionaries to Dakota in 1881, came from that little colony.

XI

CONNECTICUT'S part in the development of Minnesota may be said to have begun with Jonathan Carver, born in Massachusetts in 1710, but brought up in Canterbury, Connecticut. Carver set out on his travels in 1766 by way of the Great Lakes, crossed to the Mississippi river by the Green Bay-Fox-Wisconsin route, then up the Mississippi to the St. Peter's (now the Minnesota) river, which he entered. He reached Lake Superior by way of the Chippewa and St. Croix rivers, returned to Mackinac in the fall of 1767, and to Boston in the spring of 1768.

But it was over sixty years later that there came to Minnesota, in 1834, two Connecticut missionaries, Samuel William Pond and his brother, Gideon Hollister Pond, born in New Preston, Connecticut. They both labored for many years among the Sioux Indians of southern and western Minnesota, and prepared the "Pond Alphabet," a spelling book, and a grammar of the Sioux language. By 1851 enough Congregationalists had made their homes around Fort Snelling for the formation of what is today the First Church of Minneapolis.

In Minnesota's first territorial legislature of twenty-four members, two came from Connecticut. Six of the early towns have Connecticut names: Hampton, Ellington, Winsted, New Haven, Meriden, and New Hartford. Into the history of Carleton College was woven the character and influence of Professor George Huntington, born in Brooklyn, Connecticut; while Dr. Cyrus Northrup, for twenty-seven years president of the University of Minnesota, was born in Ridgefield, Connecticut. Other Connecticut pioneers have been prominent in the judiciary, and in the professional and business life of the state, especially in Minneapolis, which long felt a Connecticut influence out of all proportion to the number of Connecticut settlers. The strength of the Congregational church in Minnesota, which at its greatest numbered two hundred churches, is a significant illustration of this fact.

XII

WHILE Connecticut settlers were still moving into the old Northwest Territory and into the region bordering on both sides of the Mississippi river, far away over the mountains the tide of migration was beginning to flow into the slightly explored country lying north of Cali-

fornia. The first Connecticut man to know anything about the Pacific Northwest was John Ledyard of Grotton, who in 1776 accompanied Captain James Cook on his third and last voyage around the world. When Cook's ship touched that Northwest coast, Ledyard became interested in the possibilities of the fur trade, upon which the John Jacob Astor fortune was to be founded. Ledyard's endeavors to interest New England merchants in a project for tapping the wealth of that region and his meeting with Thomas Jefferson in Paris in 1785 were significant episodes in his thrilling career.

It was only in 1835 that the American Board sent out its first missionaries into the region that is now Washington and Oregon. They had been preceded a year earlier by the Methodist, Jason Lee, whose undertaking was promoted largely by Willbur Fisk, the first president of Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Connecticut. The first teacher in Salem, now the capital of Oregon, was Mrs. Chloe A. Clark Willson, a native of Connecticut, who went to Oregon via Cape Horn in 1840. The Reverend Henry H. Spalding, who with Dr. Marcus Whitman and their wives had established a mission near what is now Walla Walla, had led the way for later workers. Mrs. Spalding, who before her marriage was Eliza Hart of Berlin, Connecticut, and Mrs. Whitman were the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains.

Connecticut settlers filtered into Washington and Oregon for over half a century. One of the early governors of Oregon was Stephen F. Chadwick, from Middletown, Connecticut, and a number of the Vermont and New York settlers were from families who had originally come from Connecticut. Six young men of the Class of 1890 in Yale Divinity School organized themselves into the Washington Band and chose the far-distant region

of the Pacific Northwest for the scene of their labors. They were Stephen B. L. Penrose, who became president of Whitman College, Edward L. Smith, John T. Nichols, William Davies, Lucius O. Baird, and G. E. Hooker. Three of them were born in New England and all carried away from the institution where they were trained New England traditions of education, religion, and the service of mankind. All but one of the six remained in Washington for periods ranging from fifteen to twenty-five years. In 1920, three were still serving the churches and institutions of the state. Their influence upon eastern Washington has been marked and abiding.

XIII

FARTHER to the south lay California. All parts of the country felt the drain upon their population when, in 1848, gold was discovered in California. By all the old trails—the Santa Fé, the Salt Lake, and even by the Oregon trail, as well as by water to the Isthmus or around the Horn—emigrants poured into the territory so recently wrested from Mexico. The treaty of 1848 had given the overland approaches to the Pacific Coast entirely and without question into the hands of the United States, and the Mormon settlements in Utah, while not always friendly to emigrants, nevertheless afforded a halfway station that made the coast seem more accessible. But it needed an extraordinary reason to direct the tide of emigration strongly to California while good and cheap land was still plentiful in regions nearer the settled areas to the East, and this reason the gold discoveries supplied. Even before the rush from the East had begun, the Reverend Timothy D. Hunt, a Yale graduate, had reached San Francisco; but it was of the new arrivals that, in 1849, he formed the first

Congregational church in California. The same year the second church of the denomination was gathered in Sacramento. In 1850 the Reverend Mr. Blakeslee, also a missionary, tried to interest people in the establishment of a Congregational college near San José; but the removal of the capital to Sacramento put an end to his plan for the moment. Daniel Coit Gilman, born in Norwich, Connecticut, was called in 1867 to the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, which he declined, feeling that he should remain in the East. He had had seventeen years of service at Yale, during which time he had drawn up a plan for what was to become the Sheffield Scientific School. In 1870 he was called by the University of California but did not accept until a second call came in 1873. His administration at California was of short duration, as he was chosen the first president of the Johns Hopkins in 1875. He was a fine example of the high type of Connecticut men who helped develop the educational system of the Pacific coast.

It is only fair to say at this juncture that not all the Connecticut emigrants to California during the gold rush were of this high type. Bret Harte, that cynical author, in the *Argonauts of North Liberty*, portrayed four Connecticut emigrants, one woman and three men, who went to California in the early 'fifties, and were of the sort whom no missionary, home or foreign, could apparently have kept in the straight and narrow path of conformity.

On the other hand, the strong Puritan instinct for law and order had no more typical representative than Stephen J. Field, who was born in Haddam, Connecticut, in 1816. He set sail for California via Panama in 1849, and went soon to Marysville, then a center of the gold-mining region. "The day he arrived he purchased—on

paper—sixty-five town lots, and a few days later instigated the organization of a local government, he himself being elected alcalde. In this capacity he enforced a stern justice, and order reigned.” He became prominent as a lawyer, then as a member of the California Supreme Court, and in 1863 was appointed by Abraham Lincoln a justice of the United States Supreme Court.

XIV

WHILE California and the Pacific Northwest were attracting settlers from Connecticut, another region made a tremendous appeal to the opponents of slavery everywhere. In March, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law and at once work began on organized lines by both Northern and Southern sympathizers to gain these new territories for their own cause.

On March 31, 1856, the streets of New Haven saw a band of men, seventy strong, cheered on by Henry Ward Beecher, by Professor Silliman of Yale College, and by many other tense and interested persons, to make the journey to “bleeding Kansas.” The company is said to have included tradesmen, teachers of music, tutors in Yale College, politicians, farmers, and ministers. They went by boat to New York, by ferry to Jersey City, by train via Indianapolis to St. Louis, and then by the steamer *Clara* up the Missouri to Kansas City. Several days were spent in purchasing oxen and needed supplies for the remainder of the journey to be made by wagon. “They had been preceded a week or two by a scouting party of five young men, who as early as April of the same year had stood upon a sightly hilltop in Kansas looking down upon the broad and beautiful valley of the Kaw, with its rampart of low hills encircling it on every side. This seemed the promised land to the Kansas emi-

grants from Connecticut. The large river and two smaller streams made it a well-watered section and there at Wabaunsee they awaited the coming of their fellow colonists."

This company was only the beginning of a large emigration from Connecticut to Kansas. "The leader of the Connecticut Colony was Hon. Charles B. Lines, a man of firm will, determined spirit, a temperance war-horse and a devoted Christian." He was just the one to lead his companions through the hardships and perils incidental to the journey and to the establishment of what is now the town of Wabaunsee.

Henry Ward Beecher's part in the energizing of this Connecticut colony was also noteworthy. His interest in this special colony arose from the fact that New Haven was his father's birthplace and the home of other ancestors. He was personally present in the North Church, New Haven, called "the Old Fort," on March 22, 1856, when Lines's company was being recruited, and then and there pledged twenty-five rifles as a gift from his own congregation in Brooklyn. Six days later he wrote a long letter to Lines, wishing the emigrants Godspeed and announcing the desire of a friend and parishioner to present to the company twenty-five copies of the Bible, "thus matching every rifle with a copy of the Holy Scripture."

Other companies of emigrants, which were recruited not only in Connecticut but also in other parts of New England, followed rapidly. Men of such standing as Leonard Bacon, Lyman Beecher, Edward W. Beecher, and Thomas Starr King, later pastor of a church in Oakland, California, united in a public appeal on behalf of the Emigrant Aid Company. That company assisted the New Haven group which arrived well armed and with

steam engines, printing presses, and machinery for saw-mills and gristmills. They became a power in Kansas and their influence is felt even today. The Reverend Louis Bodwell, born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1827, who reached Kansas in 1856, was twice pastor of the Topeka Congregational Church, served as superintendent of missions, and was one of the founders of Washburn College.

A unique character who left an indelible impress on Kansas was John Brown, born in Torrington, Connecticut, in 1800. He migrated to ten different places and met with financial disaster in each new home. In 1855, five of his sons went to Kansas and after a few months appealed to their father for guns and ammunition to carry on open warfare against the proponents of slavery. Disguised as a surveyor, Brown set out for Kansas in a wagon filled with the desired supplies. Upon his arrival he became the captain of the local militia company. Having little success in the bloodless Wakarusa War, Brown decided to turn to assassination to accomplish his ends. A list of victims was drawn up and Brown with six others murdered five men on the night of May 24, 1856. Eventually Brown and his men were defeated and forced to leave Kansas. Brown's later history is well known, his raid on Harpers Ferry and subsequent death sentence and hanging being one of the most stirring incidents which led to the Civil War.

Nor did Kansas absorb all the settlers, for in July and August, 1854, New England settlers began to leave their homes for Nebraska. In 1855 the Reverend Reuben Gaylord of Norfolk, Connecticut, who had been for seventeen years a home missionary in Iowa, went to Omaha to see what were the spiritual needs of that region. He preached on Sunday, and after the service was asked by a Mr. Richardson, a native of Vermont, who had been

lieutenant governor of Michigan, to stay as pastor of a Congregational church if one could be formed. The following May, Gaylord returned to Omaha and began his ministry with a church of eight members—the first Congregational society in Nebraska. During the remaining months of the year he established four more, at Bellevue, Florence, Fort Calhoun, and Fontanelle. The Fontanelle church of twenty-four members was made up of colonists from Quincy, Illinois, who in plotting their town, in the previous year, had set off a tract of one hundred acres for a college. As some of the leading members of the colony were Baptists, it was at first intended to represent that denomination; but later the site was offered to the Congregationalists, who then founded “Nebraska University.” At least three other towns wanted a college, but the American Home Missionary Society determined to encourage but one college for their denomination in Nebraska, and frowned down other plans. When the one college was moved to Crete in 1873, it became Doane College, as it is today.

XV

IN the settlement of the Dakotas, Connecticut did not play a very large part, although the little memorial church in Bonhomme, South Dakota, built in 1885, contains a window in memory of George Hyde, a Christian layman of Norwich, Connecticut, and a door into the sanctuary in memory of the East Hartford, Connecticut, church. In 1881 there arrived a group who constituted the Yale Dakota Band. All its members had received their theological training at Yale and to their efforts, along with those of such an outstanding man as Dr. Joseph Ward, is due much of the strength of South Dakota today. In North Dakota, Amenia was founded

by settlers from Sharon, Connecticut, who immediately planted their church and "never sought from Eastern sources a single dollar in its support."

Here and there, especially as teachers, ministers, doctors, and lawyers, one finds Connecticut settlers in the other states west of the Mississippi, but the tale of Connecticut emigration thither awaits detailed studies to be made in the future.

Not only were Connecticut settlers among the pioneers in many Western states, but also in each later generation not a few natives of Connecticut have been moving into the West and have become useful and valued citizens of their adopted commonwealths. Wherever they have gone, Connecticut men and women have been true to their inherited traditions by promoting education, religion, and sound government.

Bibliographical Note

By permission of the publishers, the material for this Pamphlet is taken very largely from the author's book, *The expansion of New England* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909); from her study entitled "Some activities of the Congregational Church west of the Mississippi" in *Essays in American history, dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner on the occasion of his presidency of the American Historical Association* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1910); and from her study entitled "The Erie Canal and the settlement of the West" in the *Publications of the Buffalo (New York) Historical Society* (vol. 14, 1910). The bibliographies in each of these furnish references to a wide range of materials. Reference should also be made to Howard A. Bridgman, *New England in the life of the world* (Boston, 1920).

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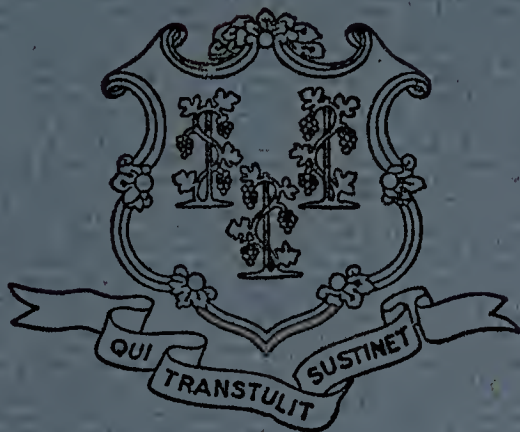
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in the Eighteenth Century*

ALEXANDER COWIE

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LV

*Educational Problems at Yale College
in the Eighteenth Century*

ALEXANDER COWIE

I

COLLEGE education in Connecticut during the mid-eighteenth century meant, of course, education at Yale College. The founding of Yale is ordinarily referred to the year 1701 (some authorities say 1700), when ten ministers representing the principal towns of Connecticut came together for this purpose at Branford. Each minister bore a gift of books, which he deposited on a table, repeating the formula, "I give these books for the founding of a College in this Colony." Although the Collegiate School, as it was at first called, was thus born under the blessed auspices of religion, the years of its minority were precarious ones during which its very life was threatened by an ignoble controversy between Saybrook, Wethersfield, and New Haven as to where it should have its permanent home. In 1717 custody of the college was finally given to New Haven by a decree of the general assembly,

which subsequently ordered "that a State house should be built at Hartford to compensate for the college at New Haven; that £25 sterling should be given to Saybrook to compensate for the removal of the college."

Even after the decision to award the college to New Haven, dispute and experiment kept its affairs in a state bordering on chaos until 1726 when, upon the installation of Rector Elisha Williams, the "regular life of the college may be said to have begun." Thomas Clap succeeded Elisha Williams in 1739. The era of good feeling inaugurated by his predecessor continued for some years during Clap's administration; but domestic difficulties gradually recurred which ultimately became so serious that they were solved only when President Clap resigned his office after scenes of violence, in 1766. This crisis was reached largely because of the personal unpopularity of President Clap, an able but headstrong man. It served, however, to emphasize the need for reform of archaic methods which vitiated college education at Yale and elsewhere in the colonies during the eighteenth century. During the incumbency of Acting President Daggett, who was more amenable to suggestion, the harshness of the administration was temporarily relaxed and some revision of the curriculum was secured. Yet the immediate gains were small. Consequently, the slender progress made at Yale in the period just before the Revolution serves to reveal the vast gulf between the educational ideals of that day and this. The later years of the century, however, brought the beginnings of better days not only for the nation but also for the college, which enjoyed progressive leadership under Presidents Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight.

II

AMID the profusion of buildings which now flourish on the campus at New Haven it is difficult to call up the day of Yale's modest beginnings. Until 1752 there was only one building, known at first as Yale College and later as Old College. This was a three-story frame structure of doubtful beauty built in 1717-1718 near what is now the corner of College and Chapel Streets. An "elongated and pinched-together edifice," it contained chambers for about sixty students, besides a hall, a library, and a kitchen. A British traveler who saw it in 1750 reported it as "very much decayed." At that time it could no longer accommodate all the students, who numbered more than one hundred and fifty. Connecticut Hall, which may still be seen, somewhat altered, on the Yale campus, was built in 1750-1752, partly with funds derived from a lottery sanctioned by the general assembly. It had three stories and a cellar, and it was used chiefly as a dormitory. The college was growing so fast at this time, however, that in less than a decade a new building was ordered, New Hall or Chapel, begun in 1761 and first occupied in 1763. The library was given new quarters in the floor above the chapel. In the early days, despite the reasonable generosity of the general assembly, sufficient funds were hard to secure, so that the interiors of both Connecticut Hall and New Hall remained unfinished long after the buildings were occupied.

The faculty was correspondingly small. At first, of course, it was made up largely of Harvard graduates, but by the middle of the century the college had begun the practice of filling vacancies mainly from among its own alumni. Until 1755 the teaching staff consisted of the president and two or three tutors. In 1755 Naphtali

Daggett, later acting president, was installed as professor of divinity. Lectures were given by the president and the professor, and recitations were heard by the tutors. The president normally gave special attention to the senior class, and each of the tutors was assigned to one of the other classes. As will be seen, the professor of divinity was an exceedingly busy person, for education in Puritan America was firmly coördinated with religion. As the sign of their office the tutors wore black silk gowns with arm bands; the professor and the president were distinguished by robes and wigs. Theoretically the students showed every mark of respect for the staff: the college *Laws* (*Statuta*) required that they should. Due formality doubtless obtained in times of peace; but there came a day when to be on the staff was to be exposed not only to indignity but to actual hazard.

Prospective students of the college generally prepared by going into residence with a minister for an indeterminate length of time. Perhaps partly on account of the informality of this arrangement and partly on account of the lack of equipment for some kinds of instruction in the minister's home, the preparatory period was frequently short; and it is certain that boys often entered college at a considerably earlier age than they now do. When the minister felt that his charge was adequately prepared, he dispatched him to an examination before the president and staff. According to the *Laws* of 1755 a candidate for admission was expected to show that he could read at sight and construe Cicero, Virgil, and the Greek Testament; had learned thoroughly the common rules of prosody and arithmetic; could write "true" Latin prose; and could give satisfactory evidence of his blameless life and good moral character. These requirements do not look excessively light; but later criticism

of the college dictates the inference that the candidates were not held to a very rigid interpretation of the *Laws*. At least one person, John Trumbull, the author of *M'Fingal*, passed the entrance examination (in 1757) at the age of seven—though, needless to say, he did not enter college immediately. Even allowing for the exceptional precocity of Trumbull, it does not seem likely that the examination was a very searching one. To have made it so would have been to reject many candidates, among them the more affluent young men. Of those students who did not intend to capitalize their education by going into the ministry, a majority were “gentlemen’s” sons with no desire to know the “long fatigue of turning books.” That the Corporation took cognizance of social rank is clear from the fact that prior to 1767 the official list of students was kept, not alphabetically, but in order of social prominence.

After the candidate for admission had passed the entrance examination, his father or guardian gave the steward a bond sufficient to cover the quarterly bills—a wise if not always effective precaution, as the turbulent 'sixties proved. The average expenses, though variable, seem not to have been great. In 1760, for example, tuition was six shillings and six pence a quarter. Moreover there were some attempts to assist the poorer boys, especially if they happened to be good students, by means of scholarships and waiterships. Having arranged for the payment of his bills, the candidate was obliged to purchase a copy of the college *Laws*, a grim handbook in Latin, which when signed by the president and one or more of the tutors, was the evidence of his matriculation. He was then assigned to a chamber, which he scrutinized carefully for signs of damage chargeable to the preceding occupant. Thereafter he was financially responsible for

all damage to the room except that which occurred *Providentia Dei inevitabili*. Thus thoroughly impressed by his responsibilities, the young man became a member of the college community. The academic year began late in October and ran, with short vacations in January and May, until the following September. Commencement was held on the second Wednesday in September. Thereupon ensued the long vacation, a period of several weeks, before the new year began.

III

THE daily regimen at college seems to have been definitely planned so as to reduce to a minimum the time during which the devil might find employment for idle hands. The day began with the ringing of the bell by the butler "between six o'clock and the rising of the sun." After prayers conducted by the president, the students repaired to commons, where a tutor or a senior asked a blessing over and returned thanks for a meal that seldom inspired gratitude in the undergraduate heart. There was liberty after breakfast for a half-hour, after which the ringing of the bell warned the students to their studies, at which they were to remain, unless called out for a college exercise, until dinner. Dinner was followed by a free period of an hour and a half, during which such comparatively innocent amusements as playing football in the college yard and bouncing a ball against the wall of the college building were prohibited. Then study was once more the order of the day until supper. After evening prayers there was another recess until nine o'clock when the evening study period began. How late the students were expected to study, the *Laws* do not vouchsafe; but there is reason to believe (and hope) that after

such a confined day the students occasionally indulged in pillow fights in their chambers at night.

Although a student's spare time would seem to have been reduced to a pitiful, not to say dangerous, minimum, a vast legal machinery operated for making him conform to a stern code of conduct and morals. First, there were the *Freshman laws*, which, having grown out of the established customs of several decades, were finally issued, apparently with the approval of the Corporation, in broadside form. They were administered largely by the seniors. An extant copy of these laws (undated, but known to have existed in 1764) reveals that the seniors tried to control the most minute details of a freshman's life. Some of the provisions were incredibly petty. The first-year men were not allowed to wear gowns or carry canes. They were obliged to show respect for their elders in ways little less than fantastic. They were, for example, "forbidden to wear their Hats (unless in stormy weather) in the front door-yard of the President's or Professor's House, or within Ten Rods of the Person of the President, Eight Rods of the Professor, and Five Rods of a Tutor." Before entering a gate or door at college, the freshman was required to look around to see whether any of his superiors were within three rods of him, in which case he was not to enter "without a signal to proceed." The laws do not explicitly state whether freshmen were provided with tape measures or not. One of the most offensive provisions of the code was that known as "sending freshmen." Seniors were at liberty at any time to send freshmen on "all reasonable errands." It is easy to guess that a senior's interpretation of a "reasonable" errand was much broader than a freshman's. Certain it is that fagging and other forms of hazing elicited a great deal of fruitless protest. John Treadwell of the class of 1767,

later governor of Connecticut, openly resisted fagging on the grounds that the power of the seniors was "illegally exercised." But Treadwell was unsuccessful in his move for independence, and he "afterwards suffered much persecution." By exasperating the freshmen and by trespassing on their study periods, the freshman laws exercised a deleterious effect on the morale and the scholarship of the college. Even so, they formed only a part of the veritable phalanx of laws with which the undergraduate was hedged about.

If the seniors were the overlords of the freshmen, they were themselves subject to a higher authority, which governed the student body. It was the function of the faculty to administer the college *Laws*. These were so elaborately devised and provided such severe punishments that under them the students lived in a condition later described by Theodore Dwight Woolsey as no less than "servitude." There was of course provision whereby a student could petition for redress of grievances, but this seldom operated to his advantage. To the modern observer the most astonishing feature of the *Laws* is the enormous number of offenses which were punishable by fines, ranging from a halfpenny, for being late at chapel, to ten shillings for more serious delinquencies. There was a fine of four pence for singing or unnecessary noise during study time; two shillings six pence (first offense), for playing at dice or cards or making a wager on permitted games; six pence for taking food or dishes out of commons; three shillings for acting "a Comedy or a Tragedy," with a shilling as the penalty for witnessing the same. Besides the many offenses which were expiable by specified sums, there were others devised by the unpredictable ingenuity of youth which were punished by fines determined after the nature of the crime was known.

Generally fines did not exceed ten shillings. For cases in which ten shillings (a large sum in the monetary system of those days) could not atone for outraged morality, the administration provided more drastic punishments, including public admonition, rustication, and expulsion. Public admonition might follow upon misdemeanors such as fighting, lying, wearing woman's apparel, and injuring a townsman. For still graver infractions of morality such as striking a tutor, denying Holy Scripture, blaspheming (swearing), fornication, theft, forgery, and dueling, the punishment was expulsion. But most of the wrongdoing of students was punishable by fines. Indeed the college *Laws* so bristled with references to fines that outside criticism reached the president's ears in 1763. The suspicion (probably unjustified) that some of the money collected as fines by the tutors stuck to the tutors' fingers did not add to public confidence. President Clap responded by asserting that "thro' the Laxity of the Administration . . . fines have never been inflicted in more than half the instances, wherein they have been justly deserved." Criticism was not stilled, however.

The provisions for punishment in the chapter on "Crimes and Misdemeanors" in the college *Laws* as printed in 1755 would seem to have been comprehensive enough to cover all cases of student misbehavior. Yet so deeply was President Clap interested in disciplinary measures that in 1764 he drew up a manuscript entitled "Some Observations Relating to the Goverment [*sic*] of the College 1764." This paper contained a statement of the moral aims of the college, a painstaking analysis of the causes of misconduct, and a comprehensive classification of the types of violation of the *Laws*, with explanatory remarks. Not content with citing the offenses already penalized, he prepared a supplementary

list (doubtless suggested by actual occurrences) including "Crimes . . . of a heinous Nature . . . such as Sacrilege malicious setting the College on Fire Burglary Defiling the Chappel taking away the great Bible out of the Desk destroying the Monitors Bills &c," for all which he recommended condign punishment.

Now President Clap, although something of a martinet, was not perverse. It is clear that he regarded himself as a conscientious Christian and a zealous worker for the welfare of Yale. His administration must be seen in perspective to be judged fairly. The Yale *Laws*, although first drawn up by President Clap, were modeled rather closely upon comparable statutes in force at Harvard and at Oxford. The same misguided spirit which so emphasized the use of the rod in elementary education of the time was responsible for the general application of only slightly preferable methods of punishment for college students. Fear, in those days, was the feeble base of much educational theory. Yet when all is said, President Clap's zeal in the prosecution of culprits can hardly be considered typical of the times. Indeed his cardinal defect as an administrator, in the opinion of Ezra Stiles, who became president of Yale in 1778, was that "he was prone to consider boys as being men." Of course, as will appear, his harsh methods provoked reprisal, and he was to learn that the retaliatory measures of his "boys" could be as formidable as those of men. He put his faith in law, but a college cannot be administered by law alone. Then, too, the latter part of his administration was rendered peculiarly difficult by colonial excitement over the Stamp Act. Student unrest was undoubtedly augmented by the bold example of the Sons of Liberty in political affairs.

IV

THE curriculum at Yale exhibited limitations common to American colleges of the time. In the mid-eighteenth century education in New England was very definitely affected by frontier conditions and by the predominance of Puritans in the population; consequently there was little opportunity for the development of broader views and more liberal methods in the cultural life. Conceived primarily as an adjunct of religion, nourished upon psalmbook, sermon, and primer, education resisted innovation. For many years, says James Truslow Adams, it suffered from "an intensified preoccupation with the problems of Calvinism." The chief aim of the American college even in 1760 was to provide preliminary training for young men who planned to enter the ministry. Such courses as did not contribute directly toward that end were valued mainly as aids to discipline. For disciplining the mind, not expanding or broadening it, was the ideal of contemporary education. Hence the emphasis upon text, axiom, law, formula, system—in short upon those things already established by authority. Liberal studies were not yet countenanced in either America or England.

The Yale curriculum, therefore, had long been shaped by a conservative policy. As Professor Henry A. Beers remarked, it was based upon "the ancient scholastic curriculum of the English universities, the back-bone of which was theology and logic." It aimed to impart "solid learning." A glance at the program of studies in the *Laws* of 1755 reveals the formidable character of the intellectual fare. In the freshman year, the principal studies were "the Tongues and Logic." The tongues were, of course, Greek and Latin. Modern languages were not recognized. In the second year, the language study continued, probably with the inclusion of Hebrew; and to it

were added rhetoric, geometry, and geography. For the third year, the program consisted of natural philosophy (that is, science), astronomy, "and the other Branches of the Mathematics." The special studies for the fourth year were metaphysics and ethics. In addition to these, as the detailed program shows, there was an enormous quantity of religious study for all students throughout the four years.

It is not without significance that during its embryonic period, the sponsors of Yale College listened attentively to the counsels of Increase and Cotton Mather. Having recently lost a battle against enlightenment at Harvard, the Mathers were anxious to see established in New England a college which should hold fast to seventeenth-century ideals of religious orthodoxy and ministerial sovereignty. Conservatism naturally prevailed in the new college, and even after the middle of the eighteenth century Yale still presented a strong theological front. Religion and theology occupied a large share of an undergraduate's time. Throughout the four years he was required to recite texts, catechisms, and creeds, and confessions of faith; to read copiously in theology; to attend prayers twice a day; and to hear grace twice at each meal. He had to make constant companions of Wollebius's *The Abridgement of Christian Divinitie . . . To Which is Adjoined . . . The Anatomy of the Whole Body of Divinity* [sic], *Delineated in IX Short Tables, etc.* (London, 1650) and Amesius's *Medulla SS. Theologiae . . .* (Amsterdam, 1627). The Greek Testament was seldom far from his elbow, if not always close to his thoughts. Religious meditation was constantly enjoined upon all students. Saturdays were almost entirely devoted to religious studies and exercises. On Sunday there were two chapel services with sermon. One half of the sermons delivered

on Sundays by the professor of divinity were expected to be theological discourses based on scriptural texts and so arranged that by the end of four years they should constitute a system of divinity. The other half were miscellaneous exhortations "suited to the religious and moral . . . improvement of the college." Besides the Sunday sermons there were protracted services on days of public thanksgiving and fasting. Students were required to attend promptly upon all religious exercises on the pain of fines for tardiness or unexcused absence. Special injunctions warned the students to observe a Sabbath decorum of so lofty an order that other students and strangers were not to be admitted to one's chamber. Resident graduates were of course even more completely immersed in the atmosphere of religious study, for in most cases their reason for staying on was to prepare for the ministry. They attended all religious exercises or were punished by being deprived of the use of the library or by being expelled.

Thus the religious activities of the college not only made heavy drafts on the student's time and patience, but they were enveloped in the same atmosphere of compulsion and authority that characterized other aspects of education at the time. Little attempt was made to conduct the religious life of the college on the basis of free discussion; no inquiry was needed in matters that had been wisely settled generations ago. Difference of opinion was ruthlessly dealt with, if necessary, as in the cases of two tutors who dallied with Sandemanian heresies in 1765, by dismissal from the college community. Religion was acquired not through growth but by assent; it was measured by tests and administered by authority.

Science, though accorded a lesser place than religion,

was probably better taught. President Clap revered theology, but he excelled in science. A competent authority said of him that in mathematics and science Clap was not "equalled by any man in America, except by the only man by whom he was surpassed, the most learned Professor Winthrop."¹ The Yale library still houses original manuscripts of Clap which testify to his profound interest and considerable researches in astronomy. He personally gave special instruction to students who showed a talent for his subject. Inasmuch as he was ably seconded for a number of years by tutors who also leaned toward science, it is probable that the scientific instruction was very creditable for the times. Indeed President Clap was responsible for emphasizing those branches of learning for which the college was distinguished for many years to come. Said Professor Beers in 1876: "There has always been in the training given at Yale a certain severity. Discipline, rather than culture; power, rather than grace; 'light,' rather than 'sweetness' have been, if not the aim, at least the result of her teachings. Her scholars have been noted for solid and exact learning."

Definitely cultural subjects found too little place in the curriculum under President Clap's régime. To the modern eye the most noticeable aspect of the old Yale curriculum was its relative neglect of modern history, belles-lettres, and composition. Of course certain portions of ancient history were studied in conjunction with religion; and one of the first professorships to be established was that of ecclesiastical history (1777). But history taught as a separate entity received very slow recognition, and it was not accorded a professorship until 1868.

¹ John Winthrop (1714-1779), professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard.

Literature also fared badly in a period when the scholastic training was so severe as to be "almost monastic." Even the classics were not weighted heavily. It has often been assumed that early collegiate education in this country was predominantly classical; but this assumption needs examination. It is true that the Latin language rang in the ears of students throughout the day. The *Laws* of Yale College were printed in Latin (often bad Latin) until 1774. The students bandied a good many Latin catch phrases (such as *non paravi*—unprepared!), and they were required to memorize many Latin and Greek texts. They conned the Greek Testament pretty steadily. Moreover, there were Latin orations and "disputes." Yet it is a mistake to infer from this fragmentary evidence that the average undergraduate was widely read in classical literature. A few of the orations of Cicero, Virgil's *Georgics*, selected bits of Horace—this would seem to have been the sum of the average boy's required reading in classical literature. Apparently not even Homer was studied except by candidates for the Berkeley (graduate) scholarships until the early nineteenth century. The professorship of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin was not established until 1805—after professorships had already been established in chemistry and law. In 1766 a friendly critic of the college, Samuel Purviance, wrote that in his opinion Yale's curriculum suffered from one "fundamental Defect," which he characterized as "the Slight Method of teaching the classics." Linguistic drill became an end in itself. The inference from contemporary testimony is that a real appreciation of the glories of ancient literature was set aside in favor of a knowledge of the political machinations of Catiline and the vagaries of the ablative case.

Nor was there adequate provision for the study of

modern literature. The French and German languages were not regarded as essential. Even English literature was sadly neglected. The difficulty did not lie in lack of books. Through the generosity of friends of the college, especially Jeremiah Dummer and Bishop Berkeley, Yale had acquired a good library. As early as 1750 James Birket, a visitor to the college, observed that "there is in this College a Very pretty Library And well kept, their Books are many of 'em of Much Later date and better Choose then those at Cambridge." In 1765 there were about four thousand volumes. Although most of these were classified as pertaining to theology, philology, and science, there was a liberal sprinkling of the English poets, including Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Butler, Dryden, Waller, Cowley, Denham, Gay, Garth, Prior, and Pope. Unfortunately since the program of studies did not call for an acquaintance with the English poets, these rich assets of the library remained quite unused except through private enterprise. Moreover some discouragement stood in the way of individual initiative because of the carefully graded system of charging for the use of books—six pence per month for a folio, four pence for a quarto, two pence for an octavo or smaller volume, and a farthing for a pamphlet. Not only literature but also composition was largely left to take care of itself, for although the *Laws* early make mention of rhetoric as among the studies, this apparently meant little more than brief and ineffective study of the rules of grammar.

Thus for many years literature flourished at Yale only through the fitful enthusiasm of literary societies and through individual attempts at self-education, which were carried on not only without encouragement but even at a financial sacrifice. In 1766 Ezra Stiles was

speaking (unofficially) for the whole college when he disavowed any excellence in "language" at Yale. The professorship of rhetoric and English literature was not founded until 1813. In this matter Yale lagged behind Harvard College, which in 1766 made a creditable attempt to improve its curriculum by providing that each class should be instructed two days a week by "a distinct Tutor in Elocution, Composition in English, Rhetoric, and other parts of the Belles Lettres." Indeed, Yale so neglected literature that the more enlightened students called attention to its lack; and when in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies some amelioration of the curriculum was secured, the leaders in the movement included a number of the more ambitious students.

V

STUDENTS are only intermittently interested in their studies; but they are always concerned for their food. Hence a great deal of administrative trouble, for the quality of commons was an almost constant cause of dissatisfaction—some of which was justified. Managing commons was a concession assigned by the college to the steward, who though a graduate of the college was generally a man of more business acumen than culinary imagination. Except for a time when lack of accommodations forced the Corporation to allow students to eat their breakfasts in private families, all the students who resided at college were obliged to eat their meals at commons. Only those on the sick list were exempt from this order. The price charged varied with the market prices of the raw materials involved and the value of currency. In 1760 it was about four shillings a week; in 1763, six shillings. Perhaps this modest charge did not warrant the steward's setting a good table. At all events,

judging from impartial documentary evidence and, more cautiously, from student complaint, the food was generally unappetizing and frequently meager. Plenty of milk seems to have been available; but for the rest, the steward relied too heavily on bread and meat (often salt pork) to provide a satisfactorily balanced and tempting diet. An occasional apple pie, specifications for which were laid down in the college *Laws*, could not compensate fully for the prosaic character of the average daily menu. Even allowing for the fact that student criticism must always be taken with a grain of salt, it is pretty clear that the food at commons was altogether uninspired.

Defects in the official diet could be compensated for in part by resort to the buttery, a sort of precursor of the modern college store, which was located in Connecticut Hall. This too was a concession, for which the butler paid fifty shillings a year and provided candles for chapel exercises and other solemn occasions. The butler was generally a Yale graduate, and he worked under orders from the Corporation. He was allowed to sell to the students limited quantities of cider, strong beer, and metheglin. He also dispensed fresh fruits, which were sadly lacking in commons, sugar loafs, and pipes and tobacco, as well as a few necessities such as books and stationery. It was explicitly stated that he should sell no distilled liquors, nor could he sell "foreign fruits," which were sometimes packed in brandy to facilitate transportation. The buttery was a popular resort and the butler had a tidy monopoly. Yet perhaps because of the lack of competition, there was occasional criticism of his prices.

There was one other recourse for the student who craved delicacies: he could have them sent from home and stored in his "cellar." Cellars were evidently small

bins or closets comparable to modern lockers. Here the luckier students kept their cheeses, cakes, wines, and apples. So far from frowning upon this luxurious custom, the Corporation encouraged it to the extent of renting the cellars—at a rate which was sometimes higher than that for a study.

The buttery, however, was expensive; and packages from home could not be counted upon to arrive very often in an era when it was a day's journey by horse from Hartford to New Haven. Neither of these palliatives could make full amends for the commons fare. Nor were the students allowed to take meals at taverns, for there they might be "exposed to the temptations of Company." Consequently when commons were at their worst, the students took their revenge on their oppressors by resorting to the more elementary forms of protest such as breaking dishes, throwing food, and generally harassing the tutors.

It is probable too that dissatisfaction with commons was responsible for an event that threw the college into consternation in April, 1764. All but nine of the students who boarded at college were suddenly taken ill of a violent digestive disorder characterized by severe pains, shortness of breath, a "tremendous vomiting and purging," and in some instances, convulsions. The catastrophe at first seemed attributable to poison, and in fact a French cook was suspected. But President Clap, who conducted a painstaking inquiry into the matter, reached the conclusion that "some strong physic and not any mortal Poyson" had been introduced into the breakfast dough by disgruntled students who devised this way of bringing discredit upon commons. Most of the cases yielded to emetics and "Oleaginous and mucilaginous draughts." No one seems to have died; the president

was undoubtedly right in his diagnosis. Apparently he failed to heed the warning in regard to the quality of commons, however, for only a few months later one of the undergraduates, Roswell Grant, wrote plaintively to his father: "Should be glad of a Cheese if it co'd be conveniently sent me, as our commons are poor." Moreover "bread-and-butter riots" continued to occur at intervals until commons was abolished in 1817.

VI

ALTHOUGH the so-called poison plot of 1764 was only one of a number of protests at commons, it was important as a presage of the downfall of the administration. President Clap was a stern and uncompromising man. His methods, even when he had the right on his side, were likely to create antagonism. One of his major exploits was outpointing his adversaries in 1763 when certain critics of the college prayed the general assembly to institute a "Commission of Visitation" enabling some suitable persons to inquire into all the affairs of the college and particularly to learn if religious orthodoxy were being preserved. The pretext for this proposed visitation was that the general assembly, by virtue of granting a charter and partially supporting the college through gifts, was the founder of the institution. President Clap, however, in a masterly refutation clearly proved that not the general assembly but the trustees or fellows were the real founders and as such had the only rights of visitation. His argument prevailed. On this occasion, as frequently, he was logical and within his rights; but he was hardly wise. His enemies naturally resented his victory. Denied the right of visitation, they exaggerated the extent of abuses within the college. Among these petitioners were doubtless some persons

who a few years later urged the students to revolt. Furthermore, a considerable body of the Congregational ministers was extremely hostile to Clap on certain ecclesiastical questions.

Opposition to President Clap's religious program found indirect expression in student conduct. Restlessness was in the air in June, 1764. Despite the *Laws*, hard drinking was prevalent. This led to an order that the tutors "constantly visit the Chambers three times a day" and that "Executive Authority" should search them once a week for concealed liquor. Tavern keepers were warned not to sell strong drink to students. Further signs of growing insubordination appeared in the large number of delinquent college bills. The Corporation voted to dismiss the worst offenders and to warn the seniors that their degrees would not be granted if their bills remained unpaid. In order to make a show of fairness, it also voted that rusticated or dismissed students might have the right of petitioning for readmission on the grounds of unjust punishment. In September, however, after a disturbing summer, the Corporation deemed it wise to augment its police power by ordering that tutors should lodge and board within the college. Further attempts were made to curb the consumption of strong drink and the circulation of "lacivious" books.

The college year 1764-1765 opened quietly enough, but there were soon cases of petty insubordination. Among these, as the grace book of the faculty records, was an amusing instance of failing decorum at commons. The episode is eloquent equally of poor commons and of the futility of the harsh disciplinary methods of President Clap:

Whereas Yesterday at Dinner Bulkley 2^d sent several Pieces

of Cheese across the Hall for which indecent Action & Waste of the Cheese, he was then reprimanded by Mr. Lyman. And presently after as the Tutors were going out at the Hall-Door, the s'd Bulkley violently threw a hard Piece of Cheese at Mr *Lyman* which passed near by his Head & struck the Side of the Door. The s'd Bulkley being sent for, said that he threw the s'd Piece of Cheese at Hunn. And Hunn being sent for said that he was at that Time at the opposite Part of the Hall. The s'd Bulkley offered nothing further in Extenuation of his Crimes.

More serious matters lay ahead, however. The administration always dreaded commencement time on account of the disorders incidental to the occasion. Attracted by the student demonstrations such as exploding fire-crackers, firing pistols and guns, illuminating the college, and indulging in noisy processions and "prohibited shows" of various sorts, the town rowdies sometimes invited themselves to the fun-making. Fights and riots often ensued. This year, the increasing unpopularity of the college induced the Corporation to move commencement up to July 31 with a view to avoiding trouble. On the evening before commencement, nevertheless, a mob composed of students and townspeople assaulted the president's house "by throwing great stones against it with violence which broke about 30 squares of glass, damaged the window sashes and clapboards broke off and carried away the gates, and other enormities did then and there commit whereby the president was slightly wounded." As a result of this outrage the Corporation brought action for damages against two civilians who had been concerned in the riot and expelled the student who had caused injury to the president. But the end was not yet.

The rising tide of protest at the alleged maladministration of Yale College reached its height in the spring

of 1766. There were many small causes of resentment—poor commons, increased tuition, excessive fining—but the main cause was the personal unpopularity of President Clap, who ruled the affairs of the college in a high-handed way. Doubtless, too, a sympathetic excitement was induced in the students by colonial agitation against British encroachments on American liberty. There was less violence than during the preceding summer, but the students were even more determined to thwart the administration. They refused to pay their bills; they cut classes indiscriminately; and they baited the tutors. In his diary, the language of which testified to the need of instruction in composition, Joseph Wadsworth, a student, noted that Quarter Day, March 20, was “very still and peicable, except Mr [Tutor] Johnson’s windows was broke.” Some attempt was made to keep up a show of the old discipline, but it became more and more feeble. On March 28 Wadsworth gleefully recorded in his diary: “In the After Noon I, with sundry others of my class was sent for by the President for being absent 64 times from Prayers this [Quarter] but we was none of us fined.” On April 3 nature herself seemed to have conspired with the rebels for there was an earthquake at two o’clock “which gave Old College a considerable of a shock.” Six days later the malcontents informally expressed their contempt for the administration by posting publicly a couple of abusive letters. More conventional means of protest were adopted also, for a petition signed by most of the upperclassmen was presented to the Corporation, citing grievances. On April 22 the students were invited to express themselves freely on the subject to the members of the Corporation. But from the deposition of the classes, the Corporation concluded that few even of the small number who pretended to have grievances were

able to support their charges. Inferring that the difficulties had "arisen very much from the Spirit of the Times," it took no action of consequence but to grant a slightly earlier dismissal for the spring recess. Although the agenda called for the discipline of several students, some of whom had confessed, the Fellows determined not to "proceed to Judgment" until their next meeting. Evidently the Corporation was finding it expedient to act with caution.

The administration was now further embarrassed by the withdrawal of tutors Austin and Johnson, who had been virtually forced to resign by student hostility. Their windows had been broken; their lives were threatened. They wished to escape. Moreover such was the reign of terror inaugurated by the students that they laid "Great Discouragment in the way of others undertaking the sd office." Consequently it was found necessary to disband the underclassmen and to allow them to carry on their studies with whatever ministers they pleased. The seniors were to stay on and prepare for their degrees if they cared to do so.

The seriousness of these indications President Clap could no longer ignore. Right though he conceived his administration to be, he could not with a clear conscience remain in office until Yale College should actually disintegrate. At a meeting of the President and Fellows on July 5, 1766, therefore, he "gave in a Paper . . . representing that in Consideration of his long and fatiguing Service in this College, and that the state of his health was not as firm as formerly, he was desirous to resign his Office as President." The Corporation, still loyal to him, accepted his resignation, but it asked him to stay on until the approaching commencement, and it ordered spread upon the minutes a number of panegyric remarks

concerning President Clap's "great good and long service" to the college.

After the resignation of President Clap the Corporation proceeded to order discipline for the more vicious of the insurgents, and it iterated that no man should receive his degree at the commencement unless he had met his financial obligations. Attendance at college became almost nil. One alumnus, Chauncey Whittelsey, wrote on July 7 that "Alma Mater . . . seemed just to breath [*sic*] but ready to expire." In this emergency the Reverend James Lockwood of Wethersfield, one of the Fellows, was invited to assume the presidency; but he declined, pleading, among other things, "a feeble constitution." Shortly thereafter Naphtali Daggett, professor of divinity, was unanimously elected president *pro tempore*. He remained in office until 1777. Before he was through, Acting President Daggett was also to experience the keen edge of student criticism, but in the meantime the college regained some stability, which it retained until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

VII

Not long after this stormy civil war over the administration of Yale College, there occurred a bloodless revolution of very moderate proportions, which brought about the reform of some of the defects in the curriculum. The two movements were not dissociated, for President Clap had not only administered "justice" with an iron hand, but he had insisted upon the maintenance of outworn modes of education. There had long been developing a conviction that the course of study and methods of teaching suffered from their allegiance to out-of-date English methods of education. John Trumbull, perhaps the most distinguished critic of the college during this

period, summarized these abuses in his *Essay on the fine arts* and in his satirical poem, *The progress of dulness*. These works, although published in 1770 and 1772-1773 respectively, were based largely upon Trumbull's experience as an undergraduate during the years 1763-1767. He found that the college threw far too much emphasis upon so-called "solid learning," which included mainly the dead languages, logic, mathematics, and theology. He complained that "the *meer* knowledge of antient languages, of the abstruser parts of mathematics, and the dark researches of metaphysics" too often passed for education. He deplored the time spent on "Geometrical labours for the quadrature of the Circle." He deplored also the attention which divines of the day gave to "virulent controversies" of no real moment while the youth of the land remained largely uninstructed. Actual instruction he found so lax and standards so low that in his opinion "a fellow, without any share of genius, or application to study [might] . . . be admitted to the right hand of fellowship among ministers of the gospel." He made the drastic criticism that "except in one neighbouring province, ignorance wanders unmolested at our colleges, examinations are dwindled to mere form and ceremony, and after four years dozing there, no one is ever refused the honors of a degree, on account of dulness and insufficiency." His contention was that it would be far more beneficial to the college if some of the solid branches of learning were lopped off and more opportunity given for the growth of "oratory, the grammar of the English tongue, and the elegancies of style and composition."

The proposals of Trumbull do not sound very radical. Yet they were new at Yale, and to change the curriculum officially was for a time impossible. Consequently what

was immediately accomplished was brought about quite informally by the tutors and the more articulate of the students. It happened that in the late 'sixties there were several more than usually enterprising undergraduates at the college, among them John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight (later president of Yale), Buckingham St. John, Joseph Howe, and David Humphreys. By their enthusiasm for writing and public speaking, which they practiced sedulously, these men stimulated the undergraduate taste for literary art. Oratory enjoyed a renaissance in the fall of 1767, when Tutor Stephen Mix Mitchell² consented to help the students extracurricularly. At about this time, too, there was some reduction of the unfortunate "senior discipline," for Eleazar Wheelock, shortly to become first president of Dartmouth College, wrote to a resident of Yale in the fall of 1767: "I am glad to hear that the freshmen are not worried and plagued of late with that worse than hoggish kind of discipline from their superiors as I think you call them." The Corporation coöperated with the move toward democracy and emphasis upon studies instead of social rank, to the extent of putting into effect an alphabetical arrangement of students' names. The salutary effect of this simple move may be learned from a letter written by a member of the sophomore class: "There appears a laudable ambition to excel in knowledge. It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class henceforward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction to be put upon the best scholars and speakers." A new literary society also sprang into existence in 1768, the Brothers in Unity. The aim of this

²Later United States senator and chief justice of the supreme court of Connecticut; grandfather of Donald Grant Mitchell.

society, which was fathered by David Humphreys, later an aid and friend of Washington, was partly social; but it had a very definite cultural object, which was to "promote the intellectual improvement of its members by the study and practice of forensic debate, by exercises in composition and elocution, and by the delivery at stated times of written orations and poems."

Through student initiative, therefore, and through the coöperation of a staff of tutors somewhat more progressive than those of the preceding decade, a good beginning was made toward fostering humane letters at Yale. A few years later, when Dwight and Trumbull became tutors and Joel Barlow added his ebullient spirit to the student group, still more was done toward cultivating the arts. The tutors gave unofficial instruction in their spare time, and they stimulated undergraduate effort by their own practice. It was inspiring to have poets as tutors. During his incumbency John Trumbull wrote one of the most celebrated American poems of the eighteenth century, *The progress of dulness*. Compounded largely of invective and humor, this work shocked a Puritan public nursed in the belief that poetry should be confined to sacred and elegiac themes; but it delighted the undergraduates. Dwight was composing his glittering epic, *The conquest of Canaan*, which was destined upon its publication ten years later for an undue meed of fame. Barlow was trying his poetical wings for his later ascent into the "sublime" periods of *The Columbiad*—whither few readers in later days have cared to follow him. These alert young men were not great poets, but they were among the best that America had yet nurtured; and they were highly valuable representatives of the muse and of enlightenment at Yale in the eighteenth century.

Even dramatic performances, despite their prohibition

in the college *Laws*, began to thrive. In 1771 and 1772 the Linonian Society produced (among other plays less worthy of remembrance) Steele's *Conscious lovers* and Farquhar's *Beaux' stratagem*. Indeed theatrical performances enjoyed such favor that alarmed friends of the college voiced complaint. Nehemiah Strong, one-time professor of mathematics, asserted a few years later that the students were giving themselves too much to "the rapturous transporting Displays of the *Stage* . . . which are calculated only to warm the imagination." Jonathan Welles, formerly a tutor at Yale, grieved to observe that the students had "left the more solid parts of Learning & run into Plays & dramatic Exhibitions chiefly of the comic kind & turn'd College . . . into Drury Lane."

During the decade of this little revolution (roughly from 1767 to 1777), the administration did practically nothing to promote the movement, but it did not attempt to arrest progress. Acting President Daggett, a man of modest abilities, was quite content to allow the brisk young tutors considerable freedom. Indeed, in 1776—a memorable date—the Corporation first took cognizance of the studies which were becoming popular by voting, at the request of the senior class, that Timothy Dwight might be allowed to instruct them in "Rhetorick, History, and the belles lettres." With characteristic caution, however, it added the proviso that this might be done only with the "approbation of the Parents or Guardians of the said class."

Thus, timorously, Yale College experimented with subjects which are among the staples of college education today. If the progress it made now seems to have been very slight, it must be remembered that the problems of Yale in the eighteenth century were not comparable to those of a modern liberal college. Its matriculants were younger

and their preparation was less uniform than now. Then the college was expected to give its students a suitable mental discipline, but it felt even more obligated to establish in them good moral character and sound religious habits. Moreover, since prospective divinity students outnumbered students planning to enter other professions (medicine and law were next in order), the curriculum was shaped largely to meet their needs. After graduation a majority of them retained a connection with the college for three years in order to secure their master's degree. The preponderance of theological studies in the curriculum at Yale and elsewhere was, therefore, natural. Nor is it accurate to refer all of Yale's preoccupation with religion to the influence of New England Puritanism: education had been the handmaid of religion in Europe long before John Calvin was born. Neither was Yale alone in insisting upon religious orthodoxy: the degree of "liberalism" that obtained at Princeton in 1757 may be surmised from its selection of Jonathan Edwards for the presidency.

Yet, whatever its aims and obligations, a college may be criticized for defects in its administration and in its curriculum. The riots that occurred during the presidency of Clap were crude signs of something inherently wrong in the government of Yale College at the time. As for the curriculum, it was already growing antiquated in 1750. Even students of theology were not being well served by the restricted course of study laid out for them. At best the instruction tended to train the memory and develop precision. Reasoning was encouraged somewhat but, although students were encouraged to draw correct inferences from premises, they were seldom taught to examine the basic propositions. Premises, like many other things, were to be accepted on authority. There

was less attempt to stimulate the imagination than to train the "judgment." In short the curriculum suffered from undue regimentation in a generation when the atmosphere was instinct with freedom and critical investigation.

VIII

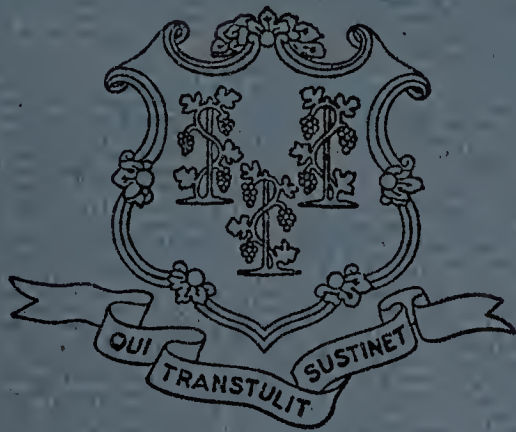
FORTUNATELY, signs of progress, which had appeared intermittently during the régime of President Daggett, increased as the century drew toward a close. Ezra Stiles, who assumed the presidency in 1778, was a scholar of international repute, an able executive, and a liberal in religion. The range of his scholarly interests was exceedingly wide, and he was an active correspondent with learned men in many parts of the world. He was an inveterate diarist and annalist; and his *Itineraries* and *Literary diary*, though rather heavily freighted with statistics and antiquarian lore, still bear the stamp of his strong personality. His administration was often stormy but never chaotic. Inclined to be a stern disciplinarian (Lyman Beecher said that, in this respect, Stiles was the last of the old régime), he too discovered that college students can become "a Bundle of Wild Fire"; but his innate common sense tided him over most of his administrative difficulties. In religion he was convinced that it is idle to try to maintain orthodoxy by banning books that question it. On one occasion he had protested against President Clap's attempt to bar certain deistical books from the library; for, said Stiles, in such cases "the only way is, to come forth into the open field, and dispute the matter on even footing." He further manifested his catholicity by attending frequently services in churches of other denominations than his own. He was inclined to be liberal, too, with respect to the contact

between college and state. That closer relationship which President Clap had so fought against, President Stiles readily assented to in part. Accordingly in 1792 by an act of the general assembly membership in the Yale Corporation was granted to the governor, the deputy-governor, and the ten assistants. A scholar of distinction, a wise administrator, a man of strong character, Ezra Stiles served Yale College brilliantly and substantially for seventeen years. Yale prospered under his administration.

Upon the death of Stiles in 1795, the presidency passed to Timothy Dwight, one of the most honored presidents in the early history of Yale. Despite a weakness for ceremonial, Dwight was a progressive administrator who did much to broaden the scope and influence of the institution. The evolution of Yale College into Yale University during the nineteenth century was, of course, a long process (the name Yale University was first used officially in 1887), but the beginnings of the transformation were definitely observable at the end of the eighteenth century.

The first century of the college had been a difficult one. Limited funds, inadequately prepared students, administrative difficulties, and political unrest impaired the efficiency of the institution and delayed the development of a strong curriculum. Surviving its gravest crisis in 1766, however, Yale gradually secured stability and, under two particularly able men, Stiles and Dwight, it concluded its first century with a record of definite achievement and with promising auspices for the century to come.

TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT



COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

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*The Clergy of Connecticut in
Revolutionary Days*

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PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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*The Clergy of Connecticut in
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I

THE story of the nonconformist clergy of Connecticut in the American Revolution is a dramatic tale of men who were convinced of the eternal righteousness of their cause, who knew their power and believed in their responsibility—men whose lives were inextricably inwoven into the life of their community whether in peace or in war, and whose knowledge, convictions, and acts were of great significance in those days of conflict.

To understand the part played by the ministers one must first forget the populous, industrial state of the twentieth century with its large cities, good roads, automobiles, radios, and daily press, and turn back one hundred and sixty years to a Connecticut of about seventy towns and villages ranging in population from two or three hundred to five, six, or seven thousand, a large number having less than fifteen hundred inhabitants. Its people were for the most part farmers, its roads were poor, books were hard to obtain, and newspapers were

small and published weekly in three or four towns only.

Theology and the church were then of far greater importance in the life of the average man than today. Every village or, in the larger towns, every parish had its meeting house, and the people were taxed for its support and for the support of the minister who was chosen, according to the law of the colony, by the voters of the town rather than by the church members. The great majority of the people were Congregationalists, or Presbyterians, as they were sometimes called. A few were Anglicans or Baptists. In the eastern counties especially were some Separate congregations made up for the most part of humble, uneducated men and women who refused to accept the so-called ecclesiastical constitution of the colony and who vainly petitioned the assembly for relief from taxation for support of the regular clergy or Standing Order.

The choice of a minister in those days was a serious matter. At his installation he was given a home and land, received a stated salary, small though it often was, and sometimes, in addition, a sum of money to induce him to settle. Each parish took its time about selecting its pastor, minutely investigated his life, character, and training, carefully tested his theology, and was deeply concerned over the method of his ordination and installation.

The pastor so chosen settled down among his people to live and work with them, and there he frequently remained throughout a long life, baptizing the babies, teaching the children the catechism, watching them grow to manhood, often preparing the brighter boys for college, marrying them, reproofing their errors, sharing their festivities, and helping them in sickness and in sorrow. The parish of North Haven, for example, numbered at the time of the Revolution less than thirteen

hundred souls, and of these Benjamin Trumbull, their minister from 1760 to 1820, said that over a thousand came under his pastoral care. Ammi Ruhamah Robbins was pastor from 1761 to 1813 at Norfolk, which in 1774 had nine hundred and sixty-nine inhabitants. In *The clergy of Litchfield county* Arthur Goodenough said of him, "He ruled the old men, being at once their counselor and boon companion. The young men were his children. . . . I was the hundred and thirteenth boy whom he had fitted and entered at some collegiate institution." Among other famous teachers were Joel Bardwell of Kent, James Lockwood of Wethersfield, and Elizur Goodrich of Durham, who is said to have prepared three hundred boys for college in twenty years.

The meeting house¹ was the center of community life in the smaller towns. There the people listened attentively and sometimes critically on the Sabbath day, and frequently on other days as well, to sermons theological, historical, and political. Town meetings were opened by prayer and sometimes by an address by the minister. Usually a graduate of Harvard or, far more frequently, of Yale, the minister was the friend of education and the schools. In his home were books and he was often influential in organizing lending libraries and book companies. Around his fire gathered the better educated of his parishioners, and travelers stopped with him in their journeys. In the country towns the minister was also a farmer and sometimes a notable one, as were Elizur Goodrich of Durham and Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven, able to discuss crops as well as difficult questions of theology with his fellow-farmers.

Whether approachable and beloved or more cold and formal, as were some of the clergy, the minister was a

¹ See Noah Porter, *The New England meeting house* (no. XVIII in this series).

man of consequence, not only in his own town but in the broader affairs of the colony as well. There were ministerial associations and consociations where the clergy met together for conference and where, although at times bitterly at odds, they developed means by which they could, if necessary, act together on a common issue and make their power felt. From the foundation of the colony, the ministers had been consulted in various matters of politics and government and their interest was sometimes such as to arouse the disgust and apprehension of certain laymen who resented their power or disapproved their policies. The consociations and the platform of the churches had been established by law, and legal questions concerning the churches and clergy were frequently before the assembly. Annually many of the ministers came together while the assembly was sitting and the election sermon preached by a prominent minister was a long-established institution. The minister chosen was frequently a fair indication of the political complexion of the assembly.

Yale College was another center of clerical influence. The president, the fellows of the Corporation, and most of the faculty were ministers. At the time of the Revolution there were about one thousand Yale graduates, the large majority living in Connecticut, who had come under the influence of the Yale faculty. A goodly number had become ministers themselves, and had often remained the friends and correspondents of their college mates who had turned to law, medicine, trade, or politics. A few of the latter had studied for a time after graduation, as did the ministerial candidates, with such well-known teachers of theology as Joseph Bellamy of Bethlehem, Levi Hart of Griswold, Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, and Solomon Williams of Lebanon.

II

THE ministers, then, influenced the lives of their people and the life of the colony in many ways, but there were certain of their teachings which especially prepared their people for the Revolution and for the framing of new governments. For generations they had discussed fully in the annual election sermons, in historical addresses, and on many special occasions theories of government, the beauties of the English constitution and of the government of Connecticut, and the rights of men and of Englishmen. They had taught that these rights were sacred and came from God, and that to preserve them they had a legal right of resistance. They taught the meaning and sanctity of the constitution and that an unconstitutional act was null and void. They quoted Locke and other political philosophers and especially the Bible, until the theories—that men are born equal and have a natural right to liberty and property that cannot constitutionally be taken away from them, that society and government are formed by the common consent for the good of the people, and that, if necessary, the people have a right “to resume the powers they have delegated and alter and abolish governments and by common consent establish new ones”—had been given the sanction of religion.

These theories had taken on special meaning in the controversies over the so-called ecclesiastical constitution, in which each side asserted its own constitutionality and denounced the unconstitutional acts of its opponents. During the French and Indian War they had become closely allied with the preservation of religious freedom. James Cogswell of Canterbury in addressing a military company of Captain Putnam’s command in 1757 said:

There is a Principle of Self-Defense and Preservation implanted in our very Natures, which is necessary to us almost as

our Beings, and which no positive Law of God ever yet contradicted. . . . Liberty is one of the most sacred and inviolable Privileges Mankind enjoy; . . . what Comfort can a Man take in Life, when at the Disposal of a despotic and arbitrary Tyrant, who has no other Law but his Will; . . . To live is to be free: Therefore when our Liberty is attacked . . . 'tis Time to rouse, and defend our undoubted and invaluable Privileges We fight for our Properties, our Liberties, our Religion, our Lives.

When the difficulties with England began, the attitude of the clergy was of great moment, and this fact was recognized by friend and foe alike. They had an incomparable opportunity to influence public opinion, especially in the smaller towns. Time and again both the assembly of Connecticut and the congress of the United Colonies called upon them to use their pulpits as a means of stimulating and unifying the people. Although there was, of course, difference of opinion and of ardor among them, the great majority of the Standing Order were heart and soul for the American cause. Sedition, said the Tories and British, flowed from their pulpits and through the public prints.

III

WHEN the Stamp Act was passed by Great Britain there was, of course, excitement and opposition, but in Connecticut the governor, judges, and leading citizens seem to have been inclined to submit to the inevitable, and when Jared Ingersoll accepted the position of stamp-master he anticipated no great difficulty. It is not easy to trace all the causes of the trouble that arose and to compare them in significance, but one cause—and not an unimportant one—was the work of a few of the leading ministers.

The first attack on Ingersoll was made by Naphtali

Daggett, professor of divinity at Yale. Gipson, in his life of Ingersoll, says that there had been bad blood between the two ever since Ingersoll opposed Daggett's appointment as professor and college preacher and that Daggett was settling an old score in attacking Ingersoll. However that may be, on August 9, 1765, an article written by Daggett and signed "Cato" appeared in the *Connecticut gazette*, and at once produced an extraordinary effect. It was a virulent attack on the American stamp-masters, calling them "vile miscreants" with no slightest spark of love for their country. In vivid phrase, he asked:

Where are the mercenary Publicans who delight in Nothing so much as the dearest Blood of their Country? Will the Cries of your despairing, dying Brethren be Music pleasing to your Ears? If so, go on! bend the Knee to your Master Horseleach, and beg a Share in the Pillage of your Country . . . That same rapacious and base Spirit which prompted you to undertake the ignominious task, will urge you on to every cruel and oppressive Measure. You will serve to put us continually in Mind of our abject Condition . . . for one of our Fellow Slaves, who equally shares in our Pains, to rise up and beg the Favor of inflicting them, is intolerable. . . .

The article was at once reprinted in many papers—among others, on August 19 in a *Supplement* to the *Boston gazette* and in the *Newport Mercury*; on the twenty-second in the *Maryland gazette* and the *New York gazette*; on the twenty-third in the *New London gazette*; on the twenty-fourth in *Vox populi*, *Vox Dei*, a *Providence gazette extraordinary*; on the twenty-sixth in the *Connecticut courant*, the *Boston post-boy and advertiser*, and the *New York Mercury*; and on the thirtieth in the *New Hampshire gazette and historical chronicle*. Often there were comments by the printers such as that in the *Providence gazette*: "The following . . . will shew what Reception Jared Ingersol, the Connecticut Stampman, is like to have in his native Country."

The article aroused the bitterest hostility also. One correspondent in the *Connecticut gazette* of August 30 spoke of the author as a "conceited upstart . . . not worth the notice of any but his fellow fools," and in a Boston paper, another, whose letter was partly reprinted in the same gazette, said:

That Piece particularly, . . . seems to be wrote with the haughtiest Airs, the greatest Bitterness of Temper, Baseness of Ill-Manners and Opposition of the Christian Spirit, of any that has come to my Observation; which, at best, is but a meer Heap of inconnected Bombast, of swelling blustering Nonsense, &c, &c, &c, and by which the Author, if he were known, would be rendered infamous and become the Detestation of all serious People.

The *Connecticut gazette* of September 6 published a note from New York saying the article was universally approved. An illustration of its inflaming power is the statement made by James McEvers of New York, stamp distributor, that, when the news of Oliver's treatment reached New York and when Cato's letter was published there, the agitation began, though there had been little or no clamor before.² Ingersoll, under the pseudonym of "Civis," undertook to answer, saying that the article seemed to have a tendency "only to inflame and not at all to Enlighten." This was answered by Cato, in a more temperate mood, that his purpose had not been to enlighten but to arouse his countrymen.

Down at Lyme, a small but important town, Stephen Johnson, a graduate of Yale of the Class of 1743, was minister from 1746 to 1786. He, like Daggett, was a New Light of the theological and political group opposed to the Old Lights or Arminians, as they were called. He had inherited a library of a hundred volumes and had read

² Lawrence H. Gipson, *Fared Ingersoll*, p. 167.

widely and thought deeply on matters of government. As early as April, 1765, Chauncey Whittelsey of New Haven, in a letter to Ezra Stiles, had spoken of hearing of the tax and quoted Johnson as saying, "From this time date the *Slavery* of the Colonies." Whittelsey himself, of whose church Jared Ingersoll was a member, thought that the colonies must bear what they could not avoid and that if laid by parliament the tax must be "wise and right and best." Not so thought Johnson. His home on the Post Road was next door to that of his Irish friend, John McCurdy. It is said that McCurdy brought back from New York, secretly, the Virginia Resolves, and that he and Johnson grew "vexed and grieved," as Gordon put it in his history of the Revolution, "with the temper and inconsiderateness of all orders of people."

Writing under the pseudonym of "Addison," Johnson sent his first fiery article secretly to the *New London gazette* and it was published on September 6. He followed this with others, signed "A Freeman of the Colony of Connecticut," which ran all through September and October and were copied widely in Boston and other colonial papers. Sill, in *A forgotten Connecticut patriot*, credits his first article with being the first one printed which advocated unqualified and forcible resistance. It was a fervid thing, well calculated to rouse to fever heat the "uneasie spirit" of the eastern Connecticut men.

It is the most critical Season that ever this Colony or America saw, a Time when every Thing dear to us in this World is at Stake. . . . By the essential, fundamental Constitution of the British Government, no Englishman may be Tax'd but by his own Consent, in Person, or by his Representative—Privileges extorted by the brave People of England from their Monarchs by slow Degrees, and the effusion of Rivers of Blood.

He decried virtual representation and spoke of the charters

and patents as compacts which, if broken on one side, destroyed obligation on the other.

If the B . . . sh Parliament have a right to impose a Stamp Tax, they have a right to lay on us a Poll Tax, a Land Tax, a Malt Tax, a Cyder Tax, a Window Tax, a Smoke Tax, and why not Tax us for the Light of the Sun, the Air we Breathe, and the Ground we are Buried in?

He urged his readers not to be lulled into security by insinuations that the sum was small and not worth such a stir, and urged the election and careful instruction of representatives who would not be "bo't nor cow'd into the tame Submission of fawning Place men, nor scar'd at the Insolence of (our own) M . . . st . . . l Tools, who (as usual) begin their Threats sooner than their Masters."

Johnson's other articles were quieter in tone. They presented logically and with detail the colonial arguments and answered with equal fullness the British. He closed the series on November 1 with a veiled threat and prophecy. If this act is forced upon America what will happen

. . . is not perhaps within human foresight to determine: . . . we have reason to fear very interesting and terrible consequences, tho' by no means equal to tyranny and slavery Let all to a man determine, with an immovable stability, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes before they will part with their invaluable Freedom; and let us all with a spirited unbroken fortitude, act up to these resolutions.

He suggested scattering pamphlets by the thousand throughout the country and in England, Ireland, and even France.

In December Johnson preached at Newport, Rhode Island, a Fast Day sermon which was published anonymously under the title, *Some important observations . . .*, a carefully developed but ardent discourse on the rights and privileges of Englishmen, among them the right of

resistance. Loyal as the colonists still were, he said, England's breaking of the charter had put them back into a state of nature, and they might be driven into independence. Writing articles, speaking here and there, always with logical argument and burning fervor, Johnson was a powerful factor in stirring up eastern Connecticut, but he and Daggett, who also continued writing and teaching resistance, did not work alone.

One minister whom Stiles mentioned as especially influential was Ebenezer Devotion of Windham Third Society (now Scotland). In 1766, in a published pamphlet, *The examiner examined*, which went through two editions and was quoted in various newspapers, he sharply denied the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and declared that if the British policy were pursued it must lead to the final loss of the colonies. Devotion was a delegate to a meeting of the towns at Windham in 1765, and was elected in the same year to the assembly—an unusual proof of his influence. Later he was a member of various Revolutionary committees.

Many others also preached resistance and gave strong arguments to the restless colonists. There were Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Thomas Brockway of Lebanon Crank (now Columbia), Levi Hart of Griswold, Abiel Leonard of Woodstock, Nathaniel Eells of Stonington, James Dana of Wallingford, Joseph Perry of South Windsor, Timothy Pitkin of Farmington, Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, Philemon Robbins of Branford, Cotton Mather Smith of Sharon, Noah Welles of Stamford, and many others. Some of the resolutions of 1766 drawn up by the towns, notably those of Lyme and Windham, show the effects of the ministers' teaching in the arguments and even in the phraseology used, to such an extent that it seems probable that the ministers had a hand in their composition. The constant use, by these and other min-

isters, of the terms "slaves" and "slavery" in picturing the consequences of the British policy was particularly obnoxious to both English and Loyalists, and the plainness of speech and the sharp, unbridled tongues of the more fervent aroused their deep resentment.

Not all the clergy counseled resistance in those early days. One of the leaders of the conservative group was Chauncey Whittelsey of New Haven. He and other ministers, as well as laymen, resented Daggett's violence and the activity of Johnson and his colleagues. This was due not only to cooler temperaments and more conservative opinions, but also to ecclesiastical faction and opposing political allegiances. The age-old problem of clerical concern in political matters cropped up again in the public prints and was discussed at intervals throughout the Revolution with bitter vituperation. One irate man wrote to the *Connecticut courant* in January, 1766, "Good God, what are you doing! Ingersoll. When the Clergy undertake to be Regulators of the State, what may we not expect! Verily, Verily, I say unto them, 'What dost thou here, Elijah'?"

IV

DURING the next few years there was a growing dread among nonconformists in the colonies that an American episcopate and ecclesiastical courts would be established, and no doubt this fear increased the interest of the clergy in their own history and intensified their opposition to any stricter control from the mother country. The Quebec Act, especially, aroused their distrust and anger. Between 1766 and 1775 there was a flood of sermons, pamphlets, and articles dealing with every issue. Of some two hundred and thirty-two Connecticut publications (other than official documents or newspapers) between 1765 and

1773, listed by Evans, one hundred and fifty were certainly of clerical authorship, and probably some of the others also. Not all, by any means, dealt with the political issues. Some were concerned with theological and ecclesiastical problems, some were installation or funeral sermons, but a goodly number dealt directly and fearlessly with the struggle with Great Britain and the theories and principles involved.

In a short study such as this it is possible to tell the story of only a few of the more influential or more interesting of the ministers. In Lebanon there was Solomon Williams, for fifty-three years the local pastor. He was the tutor and intimate friend of Governor Jonathan Trumbull who said, "His friendship hath been one of the great comforts of my life." On June 1, 1774, he was called upon to address the town, and the resolutions published in the *Connecticut courant* were said to have borne "the impress of his mind." Again on July 18, 1774, at their request, he spoke before a meeting of the freemen. From the beginning until his death in 1776 he was a zealous advocate of the colonial cause.

In North Haven there was Benjamin Trumbull, whose home was open to friends and strangers, and who was widely known in the colony. During the early years of his pastorate he used all his influence to persuade his parishioners to build a schoolhouse and finally succeeded in 1764, after having offered to furnish them three months' schooling. His most famous sermon was that of April 12, 1773, at the annual meeting of the freemen of New Haven, in which he argued the right of Connecticut or of any state to have its officers chosen from among its own citizens, and dependent for their salaries upon their fellow citizens alone:

How are governours, who are not natives of the country, and

who are independent of the people whom they govern, harassing and plaguing their respective Assemblies, with prorogations, dissolutions, and almost every low-lived artifice, to worry them into measures fatal to the liberties and happiness of their constituents. . . . Every free state therefore should maintain a most vigilant care and guard against foreign, or independent rulers and against all measures as are calculated to introduce them, and impose them upon a people. The very first step this way, ought thoroughly to rouse, thoroughly alarm them.

More interesting and smacking of a later century was his advice to the people to keep their officials dependent upon themselves, and to that end to preserve equality of property:

It should also be the particular care of every civil community to keep their rulers as much as possible dependent on them, and intimately connected with them. For this purpose it will be highly politic, in every free state, to keep property as equally divided among the inhabitants as possible, and not to suffer a few persons to amass all the riches and wealth of a country: and also to have a special care how they adopt any laws, customs, or precedents, which have a tendency this way. For when men become possessors of the Wealth of a state, it will be in their power to purchase, or by undue influence, which, in such circumstances, they may have ways almost innumerable, to thrust themselves into all places of honour and trust. This will put it in their power, by fraud or force to keep themselves in those important posts, and to oppress and tyrannize over their fellow-men. It will teach the people to look up to them, as to lords and masters, make them servile, and by little and little it will despoil them of all true liberty and freedom. But on the other hand, the keeping of property, as equally divided as possible among a people, will make elections more free, the rulers more dependent, and the liberty and privileges of the ruled vastly more secure.

Trumbull was one of the faction supporting Connecticut's title to the lands west of the Hudson river, and had disagreed with Ingersoll as to their boundaries. In 1774

he printed a pamphlet on the subject and wrote several articles in the *Connecticut journal* which drew forth bitter comments. One opponent, writing in the *Journal* on April 8, gave some light on the occasional extreme antagonism to clerics who ventured into politics. "Rev. Sir, The great engagedness you have for some time shown in the *political* controversy between the Susquehannah proprietors and the inhabitants of this colony, . . . to the neglect of the duties of your sacred function, is a striking evidence how much greater weight carnal things have in your mind. . . ." Better to prepare sermons and attend to duties than to be "midwifing into the world such *incestuous, illegitimate* pieces, begot by DECRIPID MALICE upon ZEAL for PARTY-SPIRIT."

In 1775, the story goes, Trumbull descended from his pulpit one Sabbath morning, turned up the leaf of the communion table, and invited his people to enlist. Forty-six responded to his call. In 1777 he again helped the recruiting, and the muster roll is in his handwriting. Several times he served as chaplain and in 1777 was chosen captain of a volunteer company. Several times, also, he is said to have shared in the defense during raids. His services as historian of Connecticut are too well known to need mention.

Noah Welles of Stamford, a special friend of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, had already in his election sermon of 1764, preached eloquently of liberty in a free state. In December, 1765, he preached at Stamford to arouse his people against the Stamp Act and until his death in 1776, of jail fever contracted during his chaplaincy with the army, continued to preach resistance.

One of the most interesting of the ministers was Elizur Goodrich of Durham, an agriculturist of note, a teacher, and a stout preacher. He had long studied and discussed

principles of law and government and had read Grotius, Pufendorf, and the like. Consequently, when the struggle with Great Britain began, he preached eloquently and often on the colonists' rights, and urged his people, as a religious duty, to give their property and their lives to the cause. Report has it that he showed each member of his congregation how he could best help, even to the point of advising the young women to give their hearts and hands to those young men only who had given theirs to the war for independence. Goodrich became so well known and popular that at one time, so it is said, more than a thousand citizens voted for him for governor.

James Dana of Wallingford was also a man of influence. Dana's best-known sermons were the one of November, 1774, addressed to the town meeting, and his election sermon of 1779. In the latter he pleaded for simplicity of manners, special attention to agriculture and education, and advised the magistrates not to govern too much. "There was never sounder maxim than that lately advanced by a worthy prelate. *The art of government consists in not governing too much.*" Dana was also an early advocate of independence. At one time when the legislature was in session, he preached in Whittelsey's church in New Haven on Moses and his refusal, when he came to years of discretion, to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter—an allusion easily understood by his hearers.

These veiled allusions to independence through the story of Rehoboam or through other biblical tales were fairly numerous in sermons and clerical addresses, long before there was open talk of independence. The earliest seems to have been in Stephen Johnson's Fast Day sermon in 1765.³ One such sermon was preached on July 14, 1774, at Wrentham, Massachusetts, by David Sherman

³ See above, p. 10.

Rowland, minister at Windsor, Connecticut, from 1776 to 1794, a man of power and eloquence and of wide influence. He drew a close parallel between Rehoboam and George III, and Judge Daggett of New Haven who heard the sermon said, "It produced a very great excitement." The stories were so familiar to the Bible-reading congregations of those days that there was no missing their application.

V

IN western Connecticut a minister of exceptional ability and influence was Cotton Mather Smith of Sharon. He also had educated his people in the principles of government and was one of those who, in early days, foresaw independence. Like many another pastor, he gave the latest news from his pulpit and, after announcing the battle of Lexington, helped in assembling about one hundred men on the green after church, ready for immediate march. Not only did he write and publish sermons, addresses, and articles, but he also wrote odes of liberty for his congregation to sing. One attributed to him is a good example of his fiery patriotism:

Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
And slavery clank her galling chains,
We fear them not, we trust in God,
New England's God forever reigns.

Smith served as chaplain in the army and formed a lasting friendship with Gen. Philip Schuyler, but perhaps his greatest service was in steadying and encouraging his people in the dark days of 1777. Near the New York border, these western towns found it easy to be fearful. Smith kept up their faith and hope and persuaded the men to join the army against Burgoyne. Sedgwick, in his history of Sharon, recounted that Smith preached a spe-

cial sermon to raise the spirits of those who so anxiously awaited news of Burgoyne's army and that, before it was finished, a messenger arrived, bringing news of the surrender.

Another clerical poet was Nathaniel Niles, who lived in Norwich. In 1775 he wrote a Sapphic ode entitled *The American hero*, which was sung by a full choir. Called "the war song of the Revolution," it seems more patriotic than poetic as its last stanzas attest:

Fame and dear freedom *lure* me on to battle,
While a fell despot, grimmer than a death's head,
Stings me with serpents, fiercer than Medusa's
To the encounter.

Life, for my country and the cause of freedom,
Is but a trifle for a worm to part with;
And if preserved in so great a contest,
Life is redoubled.

Ebenezer Baldwin of Danbury and Samuel Sherwood of Norfield (now Weston), like Smith, were of special service in arousing western Connecticut. Baldwin was a tutor at Yale College until 1770 and minister at Danbury from 1770 to 1776. He had a library large for those days, started a town library, and taught numbers of boys, among them Chancellor Kent, who spoke of him as "a great and excellent man," whose preaching was "simple, earnest, and forcible, with the most commanding and graceful dignity of manner." Several of his sermons and addresses were published, among them one to the free-men printed in September, 1774, as an appendix to Sherwood's Fast Day sermon, delivered in August. These were both intended especially to enlighten and arouse the country people who saw few newspapers, who were not fully aware of the issues, and were likely to be influenced by the strong Tory sentiment in that section. They set

forth the principles of good government, refuted the arguments of the Tories, explained clearly the grievances of the colonies, encouraged subscriptions for the help of Boston, and showed the necessity of the union of the colonies.

In November, 1775, Baldwin preached at Danbury a sermon in which the war was declared just and not to be compromised without loss of civil and religious liberty. In this sermon he envisaged an America grown in two hundred years to one hundred and ninety-two millions,⁴ a great and mighty empire founded on principles of liberty and freedom such as the world had never seen. "This Struggle," he said, "will cause the Principles of Liberty to be better examined than in the Foundation of any other Empire." In March, 1775, he preached eloquently to a company of one hundred men who marched to the meeting house to hear him, and in 1776 he was most zealous in encouraging the townsmen to enlist for the defense of New York. He became chaplain to a regiment made up largely of his own people and died a few months later from an illness contracted in the army. Sherwood, his friend, continued his labors to such good effect that it became too dangerous for him to sleep in his own home, and he was given a guard of Continental soldiers to protect him from the Tories and British.

Another western Connecticut minister of wide fame was Judah Champion of Litchfield, renowned for his sermons and his infectious zeal. In 1770 he published two discourses on colonial history because he realized the lack of such histories, and because he believed the younger generation all too unfamiliar with the distresses suffered by their ancestors in the cause of freedom. Chosen to

⁴ Estimating a population of three millions doubling three times in each century.

deliver the annual election sermon in May, 1776, he discoursed eloquently on "Christian and civil liberty and freedom." Calming fears, recruiting soldiers and soliciting money, serving as chaplain, giving war news from his pulpit, even letting the women spin on Sunday for the cause, his influence was deep and wide.

VI

Two ministers of special ability and eminence, Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight, also supported the colonial cause. Stiles's letters, journals, diaries, and collections of newspapers furnish rare source material. He was the friend of many of the clergy mentioned, of Washington and Franklin, and of other statesmen and soldiers. He had long been interested in religious freedom, in government, and in the future of the colonies, and early prophesied their independence. From 1778 to 1795 he was president of Yale. His election sermon of 1783, which ran to a second edition in 1785, was also published in London. Chancellor Kent said of him:

A more constant and devoted friend to the revolution and independence of the country never existed. He had anticipated it as early as 1760 and his whole soul was enlisted in every measure which led on gradually to the formation and establishment of the American Union.

Shortly after Lexington, Timothy Dwight, tutor in Yale College and later Stiles's successor in its presidency, had urged the necessity of a declaration of independence when his friends, he said, even those who were true Whigs, gave his arguments a contemptuous and hostile reception. Dwight was chaplain to General Parsons's Connecticut Continental Brigade in 1777. His sermon, shortly after Burgoyne's surrender, on the text, "I will remove

far off from you the northern army," is said to have aroused great excitement in the camp.

Among the humbler ministers whose work must have had decided influence on the country people among whom they worked was Dan Foster of Poquonock in the town of Windsor. In 1774 he published a series of six sermons on civil government, not, he said, for those who knew all about it, but for the people "to whose natural and justly acquired rights and privileges" he was "invio-
lably attached." Radical sermons these were, full of revolutionary philosophy. "What in the name of common sense is a king made for," he cried, unless for the good of the people from whom all civil power originates?

VII

It would not be giving a true picture of the Connecticut ministers to paint them all as equally fervid and outspoken. There had been before and was between 1765 and 1775 much controversy over the authority of the consociation, so much so that disgusted laymen entered the Anglican fold because of it. There was bitter feeling as well over taxation for the support of church and clergy—a tax vigorously protested by the Anglicans, Baptists, and Separates. Many of the clergy allied themselves with political factions and were accused of trying to control their towns or even the colony itself. These circumstances together with theological differences had their weight in determining the position of the ministers, especially before 1774.

The Anglican clergy were naturally pro-British. The Baptists and Separates were interested primarily, at least in early days, in religious liberty and in the application of Revolutionary argument to their own situation. On the whole it seems that the New Light ministers were

more inclined to immediate and open resistance. They helped, apparently, in the defeat of Governor Fitch⁵ who was supported by the faction known as the Old Lights or Arminians and, as a result, were accused of stirring up the "mobility" for the express purpose of controlling elections. But by 1774, perhaps in some cases owing to the increasing pressure of their parishioners, the great majority of the Congregational or Presbyterian ministers were heartily on the side of the colonial resistance.

A few, however, were reluctant to go so far and so rapidly. John Smalley of New Britain, a well-known teacher of theology, did not hesitate to express in public, as in private, his dislike of the inflammatory press and of fighting against the king. In 1775 he read the proclamation for the special Fast Day, but is said to have told his people that they were under no obligation to keep it, since congress had no power over them. As a result he won the disapproval of his friends, fellow ministers, and townsmen, and was questioned several times by the town meeting. Apparently his attitude did not go beyond non-resistance, for the difficulty proved temporary and he remained the beloved minister of the parish for over thirty years longer. Jonathan Murdock of Greenwich, however, was accused of friendship with the British, of trading with them, and of neglecting to pray for the success of the colonial arms, "to the great Grievance of the people." For these and other reasons he was finally dismissed in 1785. Yet he was soon installed as minister in Bozrah where he served for over a quarter of a century. Others were lukewarm, if not openly opposed to any resistance to British authority. Among such were Benja-

⁵ Thomas Fitch's failure to secure reelection in 1766 was due, in part, to his complacent attitude toward the Stamp Act. His successor was William Pitkin of Hartford.

min Woodbridge, minister from 1742 to 1785 in the parish of Amity, now called Woodbridge in his honor, and Nehemiah Strong, whose political views perhaps had some effect in causing his resignation of his professorship in Yale College in 1781.

As among the Standing Order there were some who believed in submission to royal authority, so there were Anglicans who, although loyal to Great Britain, yet took no open measures against the Revolutionary cause. Such were John Beach⁶ of Redding and Samuel Andrews of Wallingford. Beach signed an agreement in 1775 not to take up arms for the British, although he continued to pray for the king, nor would he desist in spite of efforts to force him. Since the Tories were strong in Redding and its vicinity, and Beach was a man of strength and influence, it was fortunate for the Americans that he remained comparatively inactive.

An amusing tale is told of Samuel Andrews. He was a Yale graduate, a convert to the Church of England, rector of St. Paul's, and a warm friend of the Congregational minister, James Dana. In 1775 he was invited with other clergymen to a town dinner in honor of Washington. The dinner had begun with a patriotic but prolonged prayer. At its close, Andrews, whose pro-British sentiments were known, was asked to give thanks. He repeated the following verse from the Bible:

Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God: for God is in Heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore, let thy words be few.

Whereupon he sat down. On a general Fast Day he preached from the text, "I hate, I despise your feast

⁶ See Epaphroditus Peck, *The Loyalists of Connecticut* (no. XXXI of this series), pp. 16-17.

days," and on another such occasion closed his church and rode his horse through the streets. Although under bonds and restricted in his movements, he was not harmed by the patriots.

Perhaps never before nor since have long prayers been so eagerly awaited as some of those during these years. Certain ministers had a gift of vivid speech which must have rejoiced their hearers. When Col. Benjamin Tallmadge and a regiment of cavalry visited his church one morning while the arrival of Cornwallis on the American coast was hourly expected, Judah Champion of Litchfield prayed:

Oh Lord, we view with terror and dismay, the approach of the enemies of thy holy religion; wilt thou send storm and tempest, and scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth; but, peradventure, should any escape thy vengeance, collect them together again, Oh Lord, as in the hollow of thy hand, and let thy lightnings play upon them.

Nathaniel Roberts of Torrington must have startled his congregation when he prayed, "Great God, we pray thee remove that Lord North from office, by death or otherwise." The prayers of Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron and Andrew Lee of Hanover were noted and sometimes criticized for their political flavor. Benjamin Lord of Norwich was accustomed to use his prayer as a kind of weekly newspaper, sometimes praying the hourglass over.

VIII

PERHAPS one of the most significant features of the teachings of some of the clergy during these years was their radical democracy. Some, probably the majority, were conservative in social and economic questions, but some went far in applying the Revolutionary doctrines to conditions at home. They urged free tenure of land, no large

landed estates, equable distribution of property, perfect religious liberty, and an America the refuge of all distressed people the world over, while some, indeed a surprisingly large number, went so far as to advocate the abolition of slavery, and a few succeeded in influencing their parishioners and others to free their slaves.

Even as early as 1752 in an election sermon, Ashbel Woodbridge of Glastonbury had spoken against the slave trade, but during the struggle with England the inconsistency of the whole institution with the theories of natural right was clearly recognized and asserted in no uncertain tones. Levi Hart of Griswold who was widely known in New England, a friend of many prominent men of the time, preached a sermon in September, 1774, to the freemen of Farmington, his native town, in which he gave a vivid picture of the trade. "A flagrant violation of the law of nature, of the natural rights of mankind," he called it, and declared that it was more than time it was effectually prohibited.

In the same year Ebenezer Baldwin of Danbury preached against it. In 1777 David Avery, a native of Bozrah and a graduate of Yale, preached to the troops at Greenwich in favor of its abolition, hoping that Virginia might set the other states an example. Others who inveighed against it were Isaac Lewis of Wilton; Andrew Eliot of Fairfield; Samuel Andrews of Wallingford; Jonathan Edwards, Jr., of New Haven, the intimate friend of Roger Sherman who was a member of his church; Ezra Stiles; and the less-known Elam Potter of Enfield, who had made a preaching tour through the South in 1767-68, and who in 1777 besought the whole land, "For the Lord's sake, put away the Negro slavery."

Not content with preaching, the ministers, especially Edwards and Baldwin, published a long series of articles

in 1773-74, signed with pseudonyms, which were copied in various papers in Connecticut and in other colonies. One series, beginning October 8, 1773, in the *Connecticut journal*, dealt at length with the whole subject. The issue of December 31 quoted a note from the *Pennsylvania packet*, saying that in Genesis God especially granted Adam dominion over the negroes of Africa, and asking that the note be inserted to silence the writers who insisted that Africans were of the same species as white men. Through January, articles appeared answering the first series and articles pro and con were run at intervals during the year.

The *Connecticut courant* ran a series against slavery in 1773, as did the *New London gazette*. On October 15, 1773, a correspondent of the latter asked to have inserted an answer "to those idle scribblers on the Slave Trade . . .":

I am not a little surprized to see so many pieces wrote of late against the inslaving of negroes, a custom . . . handed down to us by our pious ancestors; . . . but forsooth we have now a set of men started up among us, who are so fond of scribbling, that matters never heretofore controverted, are become subjects of dispute, to the no small grief of sober thinking people.

In some cases these articles and sermons had definite results, as was occasionally noted in the papers. It is said, for example, that the influence of Abner Benedict of Middlefield was so great that most of his parishioners freed their slaves.

IX

OF the work of the many clergy who served as chaplains, and of their patriotic sermons to the troops, there is notice after notice in the papers of the day, in letters, in town histories, and in other works. A mention of a few will suffice. The only chaplain who served throughout

the war was John Ellis of Norwich West Farms (now Franklin). In 1775 he gave up £100 of his salary to help his people bear their share of the expense of the Crown Point expedition. He was chaplain at Valley Forge and is said to have been of great comfort and help during that sad winter. Another much loved and influential chaplain was Abiel Leonard of Woodstock, who was appointed by the assembly in 1775 to the Third Connecticut Regiment and was given further leave by his people at the special request of Washington and Putnam. After further service he was suddenly suspended for overstaying a furlough because of illness in his family, and on his way home committed suicide.

Other well-known chaplains were Benjamin Pomeroy who served from 1777 to 1781, William Lockwood who resigned a tutorship at Yale to enter the service, Abraham Baldwin of Guilford, Thomas Brockway of Lebanon Crank (now Columbia), and Ammi Ruhamah Robbins of Norfolk, son of Philemon Robbins of Branford, who had been among the first to encourage resistance to the Stamp Act. While pastor at Norfolk, Robbins had collected a town library, had opened a high school, and had prepared boys for college. From 1779 to 1783 he gave up one fifth of his salary every year, sharing voluntarily, as did many another minister, in the economic straits of his people. He was chaplain in Burrall's Regiment (largely recruited in Litchfield County) in Canada in 1776 and left a journal vividly describing the sufferings of the campaign. Twice he was ill and obliged to return home, but he went back again to his duties. He wrote of his work:

I want a constitution of brass to tarry here and do duty as seems necessary . . . after inhaling such diseased breath am sick and faint. Besides, their sorrows take hold of me. . . . I would not shrink from the work. Our war is a righteous war. Our men

are called to defend their country. Whole congregations turn out, and the ministers of the gospel should go and encourage them when doing duty; attend and pray for and with them when sick, and bury them when they die. I hope to return to my work.

Many ministers kept in close touch with their parishioners in camp and in the army. Almost every letter from the soldiers of Killingworth which has been preserved contains some message of respect to William Seward, their pastor, so General William S. Pierson reported a century later.

Others raised troops and sometimes marched with them. When news of the trouble in Boston in September, 1774, arrived, Jonathan Todd of East Guilford (now Madison) marched at the head of eighty-three of his townsmen, Benjamin Boardman of Middle Haddam and Eleazer May of Haddam with one hundred each. One Sabbath morning early in 1777, Samuel Eells of North Branford was chosen captain of a company recruited after his reading of Washington's appeal for troops. The ministers also encouraged spinning parties and, in general, the use of homemade commodities and were sharply hostile to those who secretly traded with the enemy.

Because of their fervor and influence some of the clergy won the special hostility of the Tories and British. Among them were Samuel Sherwood,⁷ Noah Williston of West Haven, Hezekiah Ripley of Greens Farms, Nathaniel Bartlett of Redding, David Ely of Ripton (now Shelton), David S. Rowland⁸ of Windsor, Andrew Eliot of Fairfield, and Moses Mather of Middlesex (now Darien). Nathaniel Bartlett's home was the center for patriotic conferences and he talked and preached rebellion in a Tory com-

⁷ See above, pp. 18-19.

⁸ See above, p. 16-17.

munity. In a specially constructed bin he kept powder for emergencies and was so threatened with hanging by the Tories of the town that he carried a loaded musket on his parish rounds. The homes of Andrew Eliot, brother of John Eliot of Boston, and of Hezekiah Ripley were burned during Tryon's raid in 1779. David Ely and Noah Williston were threatened with hanging. David Rowland, before settling in Windsor, had had to flee from Providence because of British wrath over his activities. Moses Mather, living in the midst of a group of Tories, encouraged enlisting and preached rebellion with such effect that he was captured in 1781 by a group of British and Tories, five of whom were members of his own parish, taken prisoner with four of his sons and several parishioners to New York, and confined in Provost prison. Huntington, in his history of Stamford, said that the raid was undoubtedly planned for the express purpose of capturing Mather and that while in prison he was mistreated and daily insulted.

X

THE ministers of Connecticut played a leading rôle in the days of the American Revolution. The motives back of their actions were complex and are not always easy to determine. The more timid and selfish were actuated by self-interest and self-protection. Some, perhaps, were led by the enthusiasm of the time and merely followed the crowd. Political alignments and economic interests moved others. All the evidence goes to prove, however, that the larger number, including the most influential, were animated by a deep-seated conviction that England was acting unconstitutionally and that it was their special business, as students and teachers of government and of the Bible, to clarify the issues and present the under-

lying principles of good government so clearly that even the uneducated might understand.

In "A vindication of the clergy" printed in the *Connecticut courant* of June 12, 1775, the writer said:

Preaching upon government seems peculiarly fit, when our persons, religion, liberties and properties are attacked by *Fleets* and *Armies*, and threatened to be destroyed with *Fire* and *Sword*, by a tyrannical ministry. . . . I hope no christian minister will ever omit preaching upon government, out of a false complaisance to a few worthless *tories*.

Nor did they, and their effectiveness was attested by friend and enemy.

Let not your *Hezekiabs* you deceive,
None of your pulpit *Orators* believe.

So Burgoyne was purported to have warned in a poem on his defeat, written by the Reverend Wheeler Case. In a bitter sermon delivered to the Loyalists in the mines at Simsbury in 1781, Simeon Baxter complained that "the Protestant Rebel Ministers" had "acted their bloody part . . . both in the pulpit and the field" at the behest of "the merchant smugglers."

The clergy fanned the fire of resistance to the Stamp Act into a strong flame and in some instances actually kindled that fire. They saw clearly the necessity of a union of the colonies and urged its maintenance in the face of all discouragement. They encouraged home manufacture, kept the people informed of the course of the war, and held them steady through the dark days of uncertainty and defeat. They advocated independence and believed in the future greatness of America. They made even the humblest of their people familiar with the biblical, historical, and philosophical arguments for resistance and for what is now considered as the American system of

government, based on a written constitution. Not only did they apply these arguments to the quarrel with England but, to some extent at least, to abuses and inequalities in their own land.

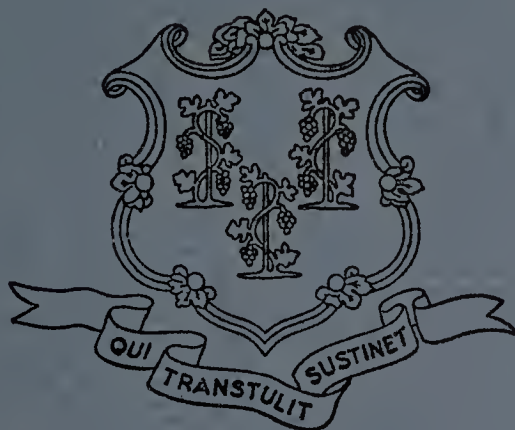
The clergy of Connecticut and of New England helped to determine the success of the Revolution and to write deep upon the hearts and minds of the people its Revolutionary philosophy and a lasting faith in constitutional government as the guardian of their dearest and most sacred rights.

Bibliographical Note

THE sources for this study are chiefly the sermons and addresses of the clergy, the colonial newspapers, contemporary diaries, letters, and journals, the many town and county records and histories, memorial and centenary sermons and addresses, biographies, historical collections, and a few special studies and articles, such as: Joel T. Headley, *Chaplains and clergy of the Revolution* (New York, 1864); William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American pulpit* (9 vols., New York, 1857-69); Henry P. Johnston, *Yale and her honor-roll in the American Revolution* (New York, 1888); William C. Fowler, "Ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution," in *Centennial papers published by order of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1877).



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LVII

Charities and Corrections in Connecticut

WILLIAM WALTER THOMAS SQUIRE

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I

THE organization of governmental institutions to handle the problems of charities and corrections in Connecticut has been mainly a task of its third century. Throughout the first two centuries the population was small, numbering less than 75,000 at the end of the first century, and just over 300,000 at the end of the second. That population was homogeneous in race and traditions and largely so in religion. In occupation it was almost entirely agricultural. Even in 1830 the town of New Haven counted only 10,678 inhabitants; Hartford, Middletown, Norwich, and Saybrook were the only other towns with over 5,000, and only six others exceeded 4,000; the census gave Waterbury 3,070 and Bridgeport 2,800. The census of 1840 reported, out of a population of 309,978, only 526 over twenty years of age as illiterate.

In Connecticut's third century, the rate of increase of the population averaged 20 per cent in each decade—the rate was highest between 1850 and 1860. At the end of the

third century, although forty-sixth in size among the states of the Union, Connecticut ranked twenty-ninth in population, having about 333 persons to each of the 4,965 square miles of its area. In 1930 the census showed 1,606,903 inhabitants of whom only 74.8 per cent were native born. The foreign-born white population was larger than in thirty-seven of the other forty-seven states in the Union. About one third of the population of voting age had been born in foreign countries, and nearly another third were the offspring of parents born abroad. Thus the parents of the majority of Connecticut inhabitants in 1930 were natives of foreign countries distributed in order of numbers among the following: Italy, Ireland, Poland, Great Britain, Canada, Germany, Russia, former Austria-Hungary, Sweden, Greece, France, and Syria.

The character of the state has been increasingly influenced by the influx of these immigrants, who have brought with them their varied ideals and traditions and their diverse religious faiths and organizations, which they have transmitted to their children. Thus, while the first Roman Catholic parish in the state was organized in 1829, a century later over one third of the population of the state were adherents of that church. Furthermore, while in 1830 but 10 per cent of the population of the state was to be found in the cities, in 1930 70 per cent of the population was urban. This growth in the urban character of the population has been associated with an occupational change. In 1830 nearly the whole population was engaged in agriculture. In 1930 only a small percentage of the people labored on the land, while the vast majority were engaged in manufacturing and trading. Obviously, Connecticut institutions have had to undergo changes to meet the needs of this cosmopolitan population, even as the aliens have had to adapt themselves to new customs

in a strange land. The rapid growth of the population during the third century in numbers; in racial, religious, and occupational diversity; and in its urban character has conditioned the development of the state's system of charities and corrections.

Yet, not entirely. The forms and methods developed through two centuries of governmental activity had created the frame within which the new developments were to take form. The ideals and traditions of the original Yankee population possessed a vitality capable of impregnating the newcomers as well as the new generations, in no small measure, with the Connecticut spirit of steady habits.

Church and state were closely integrated in Connecticut from the first settlement until the adoption of the present state constitution in 1818. No sharp line can be drawn between their respective fields of influence and activity. Furthermore, neither the individual nor the family had yet transferred to either the state or the church various responsibilities and functions. On the governmental side the settlers of Connecticut brought the traditions of English law and of English political practice; on the church side they were strongly influenced by the Bible, especially the Old Testament with its Mosaic law. These two strains were combined with peculiar effectiveness as the new conditions of life in the wilderness were faced. Strange situations arose and novel problems had to be solved. To them the sturdy colonists applied their common sense, guided by English precedent and biblical precept.

Thus, through six generations of practical experience, the Connecticut Yankee evolved organizations and procedures ingeniously fitted to his needs in dealing with social problems. In the end, as Connecticut entered its

third century, many responsibilities of the social sort rested with the town, a few with the county, and the remainder with the state. By the new constitution of 1818, the church had been divorced from the state and all governmental activities, but its influence upon thought and behavior persisted. Since the earliest days of settlement, it should be reiterated, there had been steadily built up a body of precedents as well as of laws which provided the basis upon which, in its third century, Connecticut was to develop the extensive system, through which it now administers its social responsibilities in charities and corrections.

Until as late as 1830, only a few functions within the field of charities and corrections had been transferred from the local authorities of the parish, the town, or the county to the government of the colony or, later, of the state. The principal functions thus transferred during the first two centuries had to do with certain classes of the indigent and of the criminal. With the rapid growth in population and the steady increase in the complexities of life, more and more functions had to be assumed by the state government. It is only with these responsibilities in the field of charities and corrections, which have become the functions of the state government and which are at present mainly administered under the commissioner of welfare, that this article is concerned. One after another, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, hospitals for the insane and feeble-minded, correctional institutions for felons, misdemeanants, and juvenile delinquents, and other institutions and activities have been established and developed under state control.

Meanwhile, there has occurred a revolutionary change in the ideas and aims involved in the administration of charities and corrections. The principle has come to be

well established that, while private charity should meet temporary needs, public charity should provide for the permanent needs. In the main, cases involving institutional care and problems requiring expert treatment or management have come to be the responsibility of the state government. Lesser problems and cases dependent upon local knowledge of the circumstances are left with the town or county authorities. Financial responsibility with regard to individual cases rests, in the first place, upon the private parties concerned; secondly, upon the towns or, in some cases, the counties; and lastly, in a small number of cases where the responsibility cannot be otherwise allocated, upon the state. Financial responsibility for expenditures of a capital nature belongs, in most cases, to the state government.

Most significant has been the change in the general concept of the relation of society to its unfortunate members. It is now believed that the interest of society requires the reformation of the criminal, rather than his punishment. A century ago Emerson could say, rather impatiently, "Society is full of infirm people who incessantly summon others to serve them." Then the "infirm" were the objects of charity. Now the concept of social justice imposes upon society, especially in its organized governmental capacity, the responsibility of giving these unfortunates fair treatment and such care or training as may, if possible, restore them to society as self-respecting and productive members. Thus the state has shouldered responsibilities for child welfare; for the care of widows and the aged; for suitable ministrations to the insane, the feeble-minded, and the alien poor; and for the special training of the deaf and dumb and the blind. High standards were established by Connecticut in the beginning, and although there were few women prominent in public

welfare work until 1903, the state has brooded over its wards like a mother, so that today there are few states in which the progress of public welfare institutions is more advanced. Nevertheless, the severe simplicity characteristic of the religion of the Puritans has been manifested in economical as well as efficient conduct of charitable and correctional social action in the state, and in an attitude toward the task which has been practical rather than sentimental.

II

CORRECTIONS, in the social sense, have to do with the treatment of offenders who have committed what may be considered crimes. Montesquieu has been quoted as saying, "As is the criminal law of a country so is a country itself for the criminal law is not only the ultimate secular arbiter as to right and wrong but the most authoritative secular instructor." Connecticut, like every other state, from its inception, has suffered from poverty, disease, and crime. Possibly crime may be bred by social injustice but surely the English settlers of Connecticut demonstrated conceptions of social justice far in advance of their time. Successive stages of culture are reflected in the theories of crime and punishment prevalent in each period. The curious paradox about crime is that it flourished when most severely punished, and those who know most about it say that it is increasing now that penalties are the mildest they have ever been. The Connecticut State Prison at Wethersfield witnessed its high record population on June 20, 1933, when it had 788 prisoners.

Many types of punishment have been used, from tribal customs of the savages to the complex criminal code of today, in the attempt to repress and prevent crime. Men

and women have been flogged, hanged, beheaded, burned at the stake, and even torn asunder for crime; still crime exists. Possibly the question of responsibility was not considered in earlier days; offenders were simply annihilated. The separate study of the causes of crime is said to have been started by Cesare Lombroso in Italy in 1876, which was long after the settlement of Connecticut. Probably in colonial times, as now, it was believed that the criminal is born, not made, and that to try to correct him is hopeless. But now few deny that environmental influences are factors in the matter. To protect citizens against further harm and from the depredations of the criminal and the delinquent, penal and correctional institutions were established in the state. Revenge has been, perhaps, part of the objective in the punishment of offenders but, with the realization that about 90 per cent of offenders must return to society after imprisonment, the idea of revenge by detention in idleness and discomfort has given place to attempts to rehabilitate the criminal by the introduction of work and education in order to return a useful citizen.

Like other states, Connecticut has tried to achieve moral excellence by the difficult means of legislation. While it has never yet been possible successfully to legislate morals it has seemed necessary to prohibit by law behavior offensive to the majority. With the rise of science the influence of the church seems to have declined. Earlier offenders were believed possessed by Satan, but of late the offender's intelligence, heredity, and environment are studied to learn the cause of his crime and how to rehabilitate him. It has been reported that during the eighteenth century in Connecticut even children of tender age were convicted of capital offenses; but of Connecticut, which established the first state prison

in the United States, Zephaniah Swift, writing in 1796, said that the legislature was unwilling to punish so many by death, and finally erected Newgate, after having tried fines and "corporal pains" as substitutes for the death penalty.

An abandoned copper mine on the west slope of Talcott Mountain in East Granby was first used by the colony of Connecticut as a prison in 1773. A committee appointed to explore the mine had reported that, by expending a small amount of money, it could be made so secure that it would be next to impossible for any person to escape. Many did escape, however, but in spite of frequent trouble Newgate was in use by the colony and the state as a prison until 1827. Even children were confined there. The shaft of the mine was about one hundred feet deep and the cells were in galleries not more than sixty feet below the surface. A traveler who visited Newgate in 1807 wrote that without any extraordinary cruelty in its actual operation there was "something very like cruelty in the devise and design." Nevertheless the cavern was considered to be favorable to the health and longevity of the prisoners, one of whom died at the supposed age of one hundred and ten years. The keeper was authorized to punish the convicts by whipping, not to exceed ten stripes, and by putting shackles and fetters upon them. In order to grind grain for prison use a treadmill was erected, provided with flanges upon which the prisoners trod. Of all required labor the prisoners are said to have dreaded this most. The prison buildings at Newgate were burned three times in nine years and more than half the convicts had escaped. Then, too, Newgate cost the state over and above the earnings of the convicts more than \$80,500 in the ten years preceding 1827, when the prisoners were removed to Wethersfield.

Every state in the Union is said to have admired the new prison at Wethersfield which, by 1837, had paid for itself and the land whereon it stood, and in addition had paid \$7,000 to the counties of the state for the erection of jails and \$7,000 more to the school districts of the state, "causing ignorance to decline and to help educate the rising generation." The original structure is still in use. Wethersfield Prison was built on the Auburn plan with 136 solitary cells and arrangements for health and cleanliness. The cost of the ground and buildings is said to have been \$45,602.18. Starting with 127 prisoners in 1827, Wethersfield Prison is the oldest Connecticut state institution in use and now has a normal capacity of 700. Women and children offenders are no longer received at Wethersfield Prison, other provisions having been made for them, but commitments of children were made to the prison until 1843. For a time thereafter juvenile offenders were committed to the county jails, but the year 1851 saw the birth of the reform school movement. Women who had been convicted of felonies were received at Wethersfield up to 1930, when women prisoners were transferred to the Connecticut State Farm for Women.

Until 1895 the chief prison industry was shoemaking under contract; then shirtmaking was introduced and became the principal activity, employing about 400 inmates. A new project for manufacturing concrete articles for the state highway department was started as part of the work program planned to supplant the shirtmaking employment which was abolished in 1934, when the federal Hawes-Cooper Law went into effect. An improved educational program was introduced in 1935. There was little opportunity for outdoor employment of prisoners until 1931, when a farm of 1,586 acres at Enfield, formerly a Shaker settlement, was added as prison

property. By 1934 it had received 165 transfers. There are no iron bars and no enclosing walls at the prison farm. Nearly 300 acres are already under cultivation and the early results of this experiment have been gratifying. Insane criminals have been cared for at the prison, a separate ward having been erected for them in 1897, but in 1932 all insane inmates were transferred to the Norwich State Hospital; and now, whenever it is found that an inmate has become insane, the governor may order his transfer to a state hospital.

Since 1895 prisoners have been classified into three grades. Promotions and reductions are determined by conduct. Those in the third grade are deprived of privileges enjoyed by those in the first and second grades. The most trustworthy prisoners are rewarded with the comparative freedom of the life at the farm. The more serious violators of discipline are punished by solitary confinement, loss of time for good behavior, and a diet of bread and water. No officer may strike a prisoner except in self-defense. Great effort is made to safeguard the health of prisoners. Those who may be in solitary confinement are visited twice daily by the prison physician. All are given physical and mental examinations upon entering, and a well-equipped hospital is maintained with an isolation ward for care of tubercular cases. There is a medical staff of six including a resident physician and a dentist.

The original structure has been added to from time to time and alterations have been made to modernize the plant. There are 648 cells in two large blocks. They are well lighted and ventilated and are kept clean. There is a congregate dining room for the prisoners where well-balanced meals are served. The prison library contains over seven thousand volumes; the prisoners publish a monthly paper, and are offered various educational op-

portunities. General recreation is provided. There are a prison band and an orchestra. Entertainments are given in the auditorium during the winter. Religious services are held for all faiths. The law for the release of certain classes of prisoners on parole became effective in 1897. Lock step at the prison was abolished in 1899. Indeterminate sentences became possible by legislative action in 1901. More liberal application of the principle is believed by many to be desirable. The Connecticut Prison Association, organized in 1875, assists discharged prisoners and supervises the adult probation service of the state.

Known as the State Reform School prior to 1893, the Connecticut School for Boys at Meriden is said to have originated as early as 1842, but is known to have been in operation by 1854. Uniform clothing, barred windows, and solitary confinement were formerly part of the reform school system. Reorganization in recent years has introduced a type of homelike life at the institution. Each boy is studied individually by trained social workers, and the educational and medical services have been greatly improved. Between 1933 and 1935 seven new buildings were erected on the 170-acre site, and it is planned eventually to replace the older buildings still standing. It is characteristic of the new régime that boys who merit the privilege are allowed to go home for summer vacation. The population on June 30, 1934, was 341. Boys from five to sixteen years of age are admitted.

The state school for girls, Long Lane Farm, was formerly the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls established in 1868 and conducted by a private corporation until 1921. Delinquent girls under sixteen years old may be committed to Long Lane Farm and, when adjusted, may be paroled under supervision during their minority unless discharged or returned. The normal capacity of the

institution is 251 and the average population in 1934 was 223.

The need for reformatories for both young men and young women who had passed the age limit, sixteen, fixed for the Connecticut School for Boys and for Long Lane Farm, was recognized long before the reformatory for younger male offenders was provided for by the legislature in 1903 and the reformatory for females in 1913. The Connecticut Reformatory at Cheshire receives males between sixteen and twenty-five sentenced for offenses punishable by imprisonment for a shorter period than life. It was opened in June, 1913, and contains a block of 400 cells. This institution produces the automobile markers for the state motor vehicle department. While the capacity of the institution is 400 the population on December 31, 1933, was 327.

The Connecticut State Farm for Women was opened to receive inmates in July, 1918. It is located at East Lyme on a tract of 850 acres. Women over sixteen may be committed to this institution, which includes in its plant a building erected in 1929 designated as the Connecticut State Prison for Women. All women prisoners were transferred here from Wethersfield on June 24, 1930. There are no walls at the institution. Neither are inmates confined to their rooms. The buildings consist of several old farm-houses remodeled and seven new brick structures erected since 1921, including a maternity and babies' hospital with a capacity for 40 mothers and 70 infants. The total capacity for adults is 230.

The House of the Good Shepherd, a state-aided institution for wayward girls, was opened at Hartford in December, 1902. It is under the direction of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, and occupies a tract of 30 acres upon which five buildings have been erected. The aver-

age number of inmates in 1934 was 267. In former years the state paid the Florence Crittenton Home in New Haven for boarding girls sent there.

Adult probation laws were obtained in Connecticut in 1903 but, before probation received legal recognition, police court judges had been persuaded to suspend sentences of first offenders and commit them to the care of a church or of some other organization. Almost the whole story of the application of psychiatry to the behavior problems of offenders has developed within the last twenty-five years. Separate juvenile courts for Fairfield and Windham counties having exclusive original jurisdiction were established in 1935, and provision was made for all probation officers for these courts to be appointed from a list certified by the public welfare council. Ordinary misdemeanants have been sent to county jails in Connecticut while felons have been sent to prison. The first jail in the colony, otherwise known as the House of Correction, was built in Hartford in 1640. Later, each county was ordered to erect a jail in its county town. Windham built one in 1728 and the other counties had complied with the order by 1750.

Today there are ten jails in the eight counties of the state—Fairfield and New London counties each have two. Perhaps the county jails in Connecticut have been but little better than the average in America, for it is surprising how few improvements have been made in jails in the seven centuries during which they have been in existence. In years gone by, in some towns where there was no lockup, accused persons awaiting trial were detained in the town poorhouse; nor were paupers segregated from them. A commission to make a survey of the jails was created by the general assembly in 1931. The commission was continued in 1933 and authorized to

formulate plans for a central jail farm. While its recommendations were not adopted in 1935 the commission was again continued.

III

POSSIBLY the friendly and careless manner in which relief was given in the early days of Connecticut by private individuals and by the church bred idleness. It would appear, however, that charity has ever been abused by some ingrates, for as early as 1671 investigation of a request for relief revealed that for eighteen years the applicant had been living at the expense of congregations in New York as well as in Connecticut. At any rate, the church began to withdraw its aid to some extent and the town authorities began to put paupers to work, farmed out to the highest bidder for their labors. The lot of such servants was not easy, although no harder in Connecticut than elsewhere, for the system was widely prevalent at that time. Ever since the seventeenth century the main burden of poor relief in Connecticut has been borne by the towns. The contract system, early in general use and unfortunately subject to abuses, became the adopted state policy for the care of paupers in 1820. The problem of paupers, however, was not acute in the state until after 1840 when the almost unrestricted influx of aliens required additional effort and institutional provision. The selectmen were the overseers of the poor and regulated the management of the town's almshouse even as they do today. The almshouse, an institution of eighteenth-century European origin, was, for the greater part of the nineteenth century, the chief institution in the state for the aid of the needy and helpless. The development of the almshouse called from Graham Taylor the opinion that, "It was a great advance to have the state recognize the

sanctity of the individual's right to live by providing the necessities of life through public charity." The contract system under which the towns had maintained almshouses or farmed out their poor to the lowest bidder became unlawful under legislative act on January 1, 1887. Although the state forbade selectmen to contract for the care of town poor, the state itself continued for some time to contract for the care of state paupers.

As time has gone on charity has become less sentimental. It has been learned that self-reliance in the individual is of great importance to the state. Impaired health, however, has created the need for so much charity and correction that whatever the state has accomplished toward protecting the health of its citizens—it has accomplished much—has been and is of immeasurable value both in preventing and in remedying indigence. Furthermore, by legal enactments and administrative measures, there has been developed a practical and uniform system for the care of the indigent through governmental agencies. The towns of Connecticut are responsible for the care of the indigent who have settlement therein: the state is charged with the responsibility for the others, and for this purpose has operated through the department of state agencies and institutions. This department, which was created in 1919, was merged with the department of public welfare in 1935. The former department was subdivided for administrative purposes into the widows' aid division, the state aid division in charge of state paupers, and the division of institutions responsible for the collection, from those liable, of the charges for maintenance of inmates in institutions. Industrialized Connecticut found it necessary to expend in 1934 over \$1,500,000 for the support of state paupers, over \$700,000 for widows' aid; and the towns in the state had to expend over

\$10,000,000 for the support of their poor. A commission to study the pauper laws was approved by legislative act June 21, 1935, and directed to report its findings to the next ensuing session of the general assembly.

Various methods have been used in administering aid to outside poor, but an act passed in 1884 required overseers of the poor to keep full and accurate records of the paupers fully supported, of the persons relieved and partially supported, and of the travelers and vagrants lodged at the expense of the respective towns. Fifty-three of the one hundred and sixty-nine towns in the state maintain almshouses. The remainder assist their needy in hospitals or boarding homes. The almshouses and licensed boarding homes for the aged are under the supervision of the office of the commissioner of welfare. The advisability of consolidating the almshouses of several towns to the end of assuring better care for the poor has long been under consideration, and a system of district welfare homes was recommended in the 1932 report of the Connecticut commission to investigate the subject of old-age pensions. The state department of public welfare had previously recommended similar enabling legislation. Nevertheless, no action has been taken, and this problem still awaits solution.

The welfare activities of the state were coördinated on July 1, 1935, by a merger of the department of public welfare with the department of state agencies and institutions to which had been added a bureau of old-age assistance. These activities were consolidated under the administration of a commissioner of welfare and a public welfare council. The most important duties of the council are to approve appointments of subordinates by the commissioner and to collect information relating to state charities.

The general assembly of 1935 passed an old-age assistance act for citizens not receiving institutional care, who attain the age of sixty-five, and who have not sufficient means to support themselves. An annual tax of \$3 was imposed on persons between twenty-one and sixty years, and \$35,000 was appropriated to defray the expense of administration until the tax should become due on April 1, 1936.

Private provision for the aged includes forty denominational, nonsectarian, and fraternal institutional homes. The oldest is the Widows' Home in Hartford established in 1854 as the gift of George Beech. The newest is the Bradley Home for the Aged in Meriden which was incorporated in 1935. War veterans are cared for at Fitch's Home for Soldiers and Sailors at Noroton Heights, which was taken over by the state in 1887. As no provision was made for women at the home in Noroton, the Women's Relief Corps Home was founded at Cromwell to care for disabled veterans of the Civil War with their wives. The number of guests at Cromwell has dwindled to nine aged widows of Civil War veterans, but the population at Noroton rose after the World War and, additional space being necessary, a new site has been purchased at Rocky Hill. Fitch's Home is conducted under combined state and national auspices. The state also gives financial aid to veterans' widows and dependents.

IV

THE hospital is said to be one of the earliest known charitable institutions. The oldest institution for the care of the sick in Connecticut is the New Haven Hospital, formerly called the Connecticut State Hospital. It dates back to 1826 or 1827, was used as a military hospital during the Civil War, and afterward received such soldiers

and sailors as the state or the port of New Haven might send to it. In 1892 the number of patients treated was 1,031 from ninety-one different towns and thirteen other states. Then, medical and surgical care was entirely free, and the cost for board was only partly met in the case of the poor of towns by annual appropriation by the state. Even now, each general hospital is dependent on the special arrangements that it may be able to make with the town, the county, and the state to reimburse itself for the care of those unable to pay their own expenses. For its part, the state customarily appropriates to each hospital an annual allowance proportioned to its capacity. These appropriations for 1935-37 total \$738,500. As a consequence of this unsystematic and inadequate arrangement nearly every hospital finds itself compelled to make yearly appeals for public subscriptions to meet current expenses.

The Hartford Hospital, second to be organized in the state, was incorporated by legislative act in 1854 and established three years later. Medical and surgical care were free there also as late as 1892. The Bridgeport Hospital, chartered in 1878, but not established until twenty-three years after the Hartford Hospital, permitted the patient to select his own physician under certain conditions, including paying for his services. There were in 1935 in Connecticut thirty-three state-aided general hospitals which cared for 112,306 patients during 1932. They are inspected by the office of the commissioner of welfare. Since 1927 private hospitals other than those caring for insane, tubercular, or maternity patients have been licensed by the state department of health. The New Haven Hospital started a training school for nurses as early as 1873 and the Hartford Hospital began a school four years later. Each offered a two-year course of instruc-

tion. At present such schools are being conducted with a three-year course in many hospitals in the state.

In 1903 the state appropriated funds for care of tubercular patients at Wildwood Sanatorium opened in 1902, and Gaylord Farm, a state-aided sanatorium at Wallingford, was opened in 1904. It was not until 1907 that Governor Woodruff was authorized to appoint a commission to investigate means to prevent the spread of tuberculosis. Two years later authority was given to erect sanatoria in each county of the state as necessity should arise. Such institutions were established in Hartford, New Haven, and Fairfield counties in 1910. A fourth state sanatorium was established at Thamesville in 1913. A fifth for the treatment of tuberculosis of the bones was started at Niantic in 1920, but a new plant has been built at Waterford which is a real sun-cure sanatorium—the only state institution of its kind in the country. From 1925 to 1935 appropriations for operation of these sanatoria amounted to over \$17,000,000. They have a combined total capacity of 1673 patients. To the tuberculosis administration the state has appropriated \$3,083,678 for capital outlay and maintenance in the biennium 1935–37.

The Connecticut board of health was established in 1878 and reorganized into the state department of health in 1917. Subsequently, the following bureaus were added to the department: preventable diseases, sanitary engineering, laboratories, vital statistics, venereal diseases, child hygiene, public health nursing, mental hygiene, and public health instruction. Connecticut was one of the three earliest states to establish the practice of making physical examination and health inspection compulsory for public school children.

THE care of the mentally sick is a separate problem. Though it is still far from the goal, Connecticut has long realized that it is a matter of public concern and governmental responsibility to provide not only suitable remedial treatment but also adequate preventive measures. Even though mental disorder was then still regarded as demoniacal possession, there is record of public provision for the care of an insane person in New Haven in 1645. In 1699 the general assembly of the colony passed "An Act for Relieving Idiots and Distracted Persons," providing that the town selectmen were obliged to furnish care for insane persons who had no responsible relatives. After 1727, persons "under distraction and unfit to go at large" might be sent to the colony workhouse.

Public attention was called to the need of proper care of the insane by the State Medical Society in 1812. The society at that time appointed a committee to ascertain the number of lunatics in the state. Inquiry made of the clergy in the various towns produced unsatisfactory results. A second census was attempted in 1821 and plans for an insane asylum were drawn up by the Reverend Thomas Robbins of East Windsor, Dr. Mason F. Cogswell of Hartford, and others. The next year the general assembly, held at New Haven, passed an act establishing a "Retreat for the Insane." There were then more than 1,000 insane persons in the state and subscriptions of about \$12,000 for the Retreat were obtained. Any subscriber paying \$200 might at all times name one indigent patient to be received upon the most favorable terms. The governor of the state was authorized and requested to grant, annually for five years, a brief soliciting contributions for the benefit of the institution. A grant of

\$5,000 was obtained from the state and a site selected for the institution in Hartford. The expense of the original building was not to exceed \$12,000. The successful establishment of the Retreat was largely due to its first superintendent, Dr. Eli Todd.

The institution still operates on the original site—a 35-acre tract. Selectmen may still send town charges there. The Hartford Retreat is one of the three oldest of its type in North America, and is said to be the oldest established by physicians in America. It has been completely reorganized since 1931, and is now considered one of the most progressive hospitals in the country for the care of mental patients.

An attempt was made to establish a state institution in 1839 when it was alleged that there were 800 destitute insane persons in the state. The legislative committee, appointed to make inquiry, reported in 1840 in favor of a site of forty-eight acres in Middletown at a cost of \$5,800, but no action was taken. In 1844, however, an appropriation of \$10,000 was made to the Hartford Retreat to assist in the erection of more buildings. Two years later the state was supporting about one hundred patients at the Retreat. Twenty-two years passed before it was decided that a hospital for the care of the insane should be established by the state. Trustees appointed under the act met in 1866, and accepted a tract of 150 acres donated by the city of Middletown. The hospital was opened for the reception of patients in 1868. It now occupies 900 acres of land.

The first building was a four-story structure accommodating 200 patients. The building is still in use. It was crowded beyond capacity at the end of the first year. The population had increased to 345 in 1870 and 62 applicants had been refused admission, so more money had to

be appropriated for buildings. By 1884 there were 450 inmates, crowding the increased facilities provided, and there was a waiting list of 80. Additional buildings were erected from time to time, but demands for admission have continued to exceed accommodations. There were 3,171 in the hospital on December 31, 1935. A second state hospital was provided for at Norwich, where a site had been offered in 1903. It was opened to receive patients the next year. The word "insane" was removed from the title of both hospitals in 1919. It was not until 1929 that a third state hospital was established at Newtown in Fairfield County. In 1933 Middletown had a daily average of 3,189 inmates with normal accommodations for 2,321, and Norwich had 2,771 with a normal capacity of 2,645. Fairfield State Hospital was caring for 500 at the close of 1935, but plans have been made for an eventual capacity of 2,500.

Dr. Henry M. Knight was a member of a commission to ascertain the number and needs of idiots in the state in 1856. It so happened that the effort to secure a legislative appropriation failed at that time, but Dr. Knight was so impressed with the needs of the feeble-minded that he opened a house for their care, starting with one pupil in 1859. By 1862 twenty-five imbeciles were under his care. The school was incorporated and the trustees, aided by small state appropriations, bought land and buildings in Lakeville, where in 1892 there were accommodations for 128 pupils, 100 of whom were state beneficiaries. Shortly before his death Dr. Knight saw provisions for the decent care of the feeble-minded enacted into law.

The state established an epileptic colony at Mansfield in 1909, and in 1915 it was decided to sell the Lakeville property, which had been acquired by the state two years

before, and to transfer the feeble-minded to Mansfield. The transfer was accomplished in 1917, and the care of the epileptics and feeble-minded was consolidated in the Mansfield State Training School and Hospital. The capacity of this institution was 1,200 in 1935. The legislature in that year created a commission to select and purchase a site upon which to build an additional state hospital and training school for the feeble-minded, and \$150,000 was appropriated for this purpose.

The legislature of 1929 established the division of mental hygiene in the department of health, for the subject of mental hygiene has been said to be "the most important single problem in the entire field of public health and social welfare." A conspicuous Connecticut attainment has been the founding of the pioneer Society for Mental Hygiene by Clifford Whittingham Beers in New Haven on May 6, 1908. It was organized following the publication of his book, *A mind that found itself*, and from the Connecticut society have grown national and international foundations. On June 30, 1935, there were 6,545 persons in Connecticut state hospitals for mental diseases, not including private institutions. The population of the state was then estimated somewhat more than 1,700,000. The state appropriated \$2,500,000 for Fairfield State Hospital in February, 1931. The cost to the state for maintenance of the insane and feeble-minded for the fiscal year 1934-35 was over \$2,500,000.

Some of the earlier private hospitals for the care of mental diseases have been discontinued, notably Spring Hill at Litchfield, established in 1847, and Kensett in Norwalk, started in 1886. Elmcroft, opened at Enfield in 1888, continues to operate. All such private hospitals were required, after 1897, to procure a license from the governor.

The authority to license private hospitals for the treatment of mental diseases was taken away from the governor and given to the state department of health beginning July 1, 1935, but the duties of the public welfare council in regard to supervision were not changed. On June 4, 1935, the general assembly approved the creation of a commission to prepare and recommend a program for more efficient prevention and treatment of mental diseases.

VI

IN 1817, due to the initiative of Dr. Mason F. Cogswell of Hartford, the general assembly appropriated \$5,000 to found an asylum for the deaf and dumb. This institution, which was located in Hartford for over a hundred years, is the oldest school for the instruction of the deaf in the United States. The instruction was placed in charge of Thomas H. Gallaudet, who had prepared for the work by special study in Europe. An act of the fifteenth congress of the United States, approved March 3, 1819, granted to the asylum a tract of land equal to a township. This land, located in the Southwest, was sold, and the proceeds are applied to the use of the institution. More recently the Connecticut legislatures of 1919 and 1921 appropriated \$500,000, so that a better site in West Hartford and a new building were obtained in 1922. The daily average of pupils present in 1934 was 235. Beginning in 1872, the state had supported some deaf-mute children at the Whipple Home School in Mystic, but in 1919 the state purchased the institution and renamed it the Mystic Oral School for the Deaf, since its pupils are taught lip reading and acquire speech rather than the sign language. There was a total of 116 pupils at the school in 1934, and a normal class for teachers in the oral method is

maintained. There were 568 deaf mutes in the state in 1930.

A state board of education for the blind, the oldest commission for the blind in the United States, was established in 1893. To date, over 700 blind persons have been educated by the state, and many of the 1,854 now on the register are being helped by the state. During the last quarter century, with state help, the Connecticut Institute for the Blind has erected school buildings in Hartford and a trades department in Wethersfield. Much preventive work has been done, particularly since 1921, and great advances have been made in home teaching, in sales work, and in general social service.

VII

IN earlier days the care of children was not regarded as a state problem, but in more recent times Connecticut has recognized its responsibility. One hundred years ago two homes for orphans came into being in the state. The New Haven Orphan Asylum was incorporated in 1833 and the Hartford Orphan Asylum in the same year. Children who were public charges were cared for in almshouses, as a general rule, but the City Missionary Society of Hartford particularly objected to the idea of children in almshouses, and was instrumental in persuading the state to appoint a commission in 1882 to make inquiry into the question. As a result of this inquiry five county homes were organized in 1883 and three more in 1884. The number of children committed to the eight county homes from 1884 to 1935 was 15,818.

When the county homes were first opened lay people placed out the children and supervised them, but since the establishment of the bureau of child welfare within the state department of public welfare in 1921, trained social workers have been employed for that purpose. A

number of the members of the City Missionary Society of Hartford favored foster-home placement for children in preference to the county-home idea, and therefore founded the Connecticut Children's Aid Society in 1892. Since 1921 this society has confined its activities to placing out children, and to adjusting them in their own homes, coöperating with both public and private agencies all over the state. The society now has an average of 300 children a year placed out in foster homes, and assists in adjusting in their own homes between 600 and 800 children annually.

The Newington Home for Crippled Children was established by the Connecticut Children's Aid Society in June, 1898, and was under the direction of that society until July, 1921, when it became a separate institution. From time to time the state has appropriated over half a million dollars for buildings at the Newington Home, for many of the crippled children are state beneficiaries. The children admitted must be of sound mind, for the care given at the home includes general education as well as corrective therapeutic and surgical treatment. There are facilities at the home for 200 children, including a ninety-five bed hospital.

Formerly children who violated law were tried in criminal courts, but with the passage of the Juvenile Court Act in 1921 children offenders are now heard in separate courts or in chambers, and, in the larger cities, have been provided with their own probation officers. In addition to supervising state wards, the commissioner of welfare also licenses private boardinghouses for children, and carefully investigates the giving of children in adoption. The second child welfare commission, appointed in 1931, made many recommendations to the legislature of 1933 which failed to become law, but the measure sponsored

by the commission, proposing that neglected and uncared-for children under six years old be committed to the charge of the bureau of child welfare, has become law.

The problem of providing physical care for children seems to have been solved, and attention is now concentrated on the provision of proper mental care—a problem which has not been solved so well. Prevention rather than correction must be the principle of action. The present trend is toward foster homes and away from institutional care, toward skilled individual attention to children needing special care. The visiting teacher is at work in Connecticut, and social responsibility is recognized in the state for the protection of children of illegitimate birth. A board of priests was organized in the interests of dependent Catholic children in 1910, and this board employed a child-welfare worker to coöperate with state authorities three years later. The Diocesan Bureau of Social Service, which has a child-welfare department, was established in 1930 with headquarters in Hartford and seven branch offices in the state.

VIII

THE first meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1871 was the result of the desire of the Connecticut state board of charities and corresponding departments in eight other states to discuss questions of common interest.

An act, creating a commission to study the functions of the state government and recommend reorganization of the state departments to the next general assembly, was passed by the legislature on May 8, 1935. It is possible that the report of this commission may involve significant changes in the organization of the state's sys-

tem of managing charities and corrections as well as in other departments.

Since the financial crisis of 1929, Connecticut, in common with other states, has had to meet extraordinary demands for relief of the unfortunate. The governor appointed a commission to investigate unemployment and discover means of alleviating the serious situation in 1931, but the depression continued, and the general assembly, at its 1933 session, designated the Emergency Relief Commission as the state agency to apply for federal assistance and to promote efficiency and effectiveness in the local distribution of relief. The 1935 legislature continued the commission during the emergency period.

Compared to other states, Connecticut has maintained much of its traditional self-sufficiency. For its conduct of relief work, Connecticut may well take pride in its pre-eminence among the states of the nation during the economic and social crisis of 1933. It was foremost in the country, for it carried 89.5 per cent of its relief burden for that year. It accepted only 10.5 per cent of federal aid, which was the minimum among the states—twelve others received more than 90 per cent of their relief funds from federal sources. Though Connecticut received larger amounts from federal funds in 1934 and 1935, it continued to rank among the few states that provided a large percentage of their expenditures for relief work. Considering the dense cosmopolitan population of the state, it is remarkable that no serious disturbances have marred the orderly procedure of life. In the matter of corrections, a national authority has commented that while “the practices and institutions in Connecticut may not all be ‘according to Hoyle,’ it is notable how well they work.” While the problem of dealing with lawbreakers is not yet solved,

Connecticut has progressed since 1885 when, for the first time, a few members of the Salvation Army stood outside the gates of Wethersfield Prison to meet discharged prisoners. Rehabilitation is now the aim.

While rehabilitation is the immediate objective, the conviction is becoming firmly established that prevention is better than cure. This attitude affects in two ways the work of charities and corrections. It results in study and effort to discern and remove the causes of crime, poverty, and disease. It also places the major emphasis upon work with children, as the most hopeful field of endeavor.

Since the opening of the twentieth century two significant developments have occurred, profoundly altering the character of the groups engaged in social-welfare undertakings. The earlier, and more far-reaching, has been the growth of interest on the part of the women, with the result that today they are leading participants in every form of welfare activity—most of all, naturally, in the various movements to promote child welfare. The more recent change has been the appearance of the professionally trained worker and his rapidly attained monopoly of the actual working positions. A third change is still in process. It is the effort to secure more effective organization and integration of the governmental instrumentalities and agencies invested with responsibility for charitable and correctional work.

A century ago Connecticut was a leader in the initiation of welfare enterprises. Now Connecticut is recovering that leadership because it refrains from chasing every rainbow of reform and approaches these difficult and highly important problems with deliberation, steadiness, and dispassionate purpose. Connecticut does not lack initiative or courage to make experiments, but it insists upon taking experience as a guide in making them.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE TRICENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

The Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tricentenary Commission has issued, during the past few years, a series of small pamphlets upon a great variety of topics, selected for the purpose of making better known among the people of Connecticut and others as many of the features as possible of the history and life of Connecticut as colony and state. No attempt has been made to deal with these subjects in either logical or chronological order, the intention having been to issue pamphlets at any time upon any subject that seemed to be of interest and worthy to be made a matter of record.

The series will be completed with the issuance of a total number of sixty pamphlets. A small supplementary pamphlet providing biographical data about the authors and other information about the series has been prepared, and may be obtained without charge from the Yale University Press.

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COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

LVIII

*Connecticut Influences in Western
Massachusetts and Vermont*

RISING LAKE MORROW

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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LVIII

Connecticut Influences in Western Massachusetts and Vermont

RISING LAKE MORROW

I

ALTHOUGH some settlers of Connecticut had early turned their footsteps northward, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the movement into western Massachusetts and the region later known as Vermont assumed appreciable proportions. From then on, for more than fifty years Connecticut sent a continuous stream of pioneers through the longitudinal valleys of western New England, first into the region of the Berkshires, and later into the Green Mountains. Movers from eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, to be sure, joined the trek, but the Connecticut people by sheer weight of numbers so dominated the development of both sections that they became, in substance, new Connecticuts.

The land problem, which bulked large in the minds of all frontiersmen, was probably responsible for the greater part of this migration. The spread of population, which

flowed like quicksilver into the valleys of Connecticut's hinterlands, and the hegiras to Long Island, New Jersey, and Delaware gave evidence of the restless energy of the colony's earliest settlers. Before Wethersfield was ten years old, a committee of the general court, investigating a religious quarrel which threatened to split the settlement, reported: "Many of those who put up their names for remoueall were not induced thereunto by any dislike, or ingadgement they haue in the present quarrells, but for want of lotts and other considerations." A historian of Hartford might have been describing any of the older towns when he wrote that the place was a beehive for new settlements, "a little swarm here, one there, another there, and they clung, each, almost wherever in the region round about, a tree branch shaded the flowers of the wilderness." By 1680, with a population of approximately 12,000, Connecticut had already reported its territory to be so full of rocks, swamps, hills, and vales that most of what was fit for planting had already been taken up and that "what remaynes must be subdued, and gained out of the fire as it were, by hard blowes and for smal recompence."

As the years passed the land problem grew more acute. There was some immigration from old England and some from Massachusetts but, in the main, the Connecticut people themselves were responsible for their increasing numbers. In the register of births in the New Haven archives, under the 290 family names recorded between the years 1647 and 1754, an investigator has discovered the names of 5,954 children. This record, moreover, is very likely incomplete for, as families moved farther from the village, registrations inevitably became increasingly irregular. Abraham Doolittle, for example, had 13 children, 73 grandchildren, and at least 232 great-

grandchildren. William Tuttle was the father of 12, the grandfather of 72, and the great-grandfather of 323 children. Richard Sperry, with 10 children and 66 grandchildren, had 325 great-grandchildren. The Reverend Abel Stiles of Woodstock baptized in his society 367 boys and 415 girls between 1737 and 1759. The results of this fecundity are reflected in the population estimates for the first half of the eighteenth century. From 38,000¹ in 1730, the estimates jumped to 71,000 by 1749. Thirteen years later Governor Fitch was reporting a population of 141,000 whites and 4,590 blacks. In 1756 he had written that according to "the best computation that hath been made" the inhabitants of the colony had doubled in twenty-four years, an increase which he attributed to an industrious, temperate life, early marriage, and divine benediction.

In Connecticut, at that time, there was no well-established manufacturing industry. A few people living on the coast or navigable rivers engaged in trade, but for the vast majority agriculture furnished the chief means of livelihood. In consequence, as the pressure on the arable land increased and its value rose, the sons of Connecticut's pioneers turned once more to the frontier. There they raised their crude log cabins, wrested their acres from the wilderness, and established again the institutions of their fathers. It is significant, also, that the larger emigration came from districts having poor transportation facilities. Counties and towns on the coast and rivers, whence markets could be easily reached, grew rapidly, while inland districts remained either stationary or, in a few cases, actually declined in

¹So reported by Secretary Hezekiah Wyllys to the board of trade, but there is reason to believe that the population was actually 50 per cent greater in both 1730 and 1749. See A. L. Olson, *Agricultural economy and the population in eighteenth-century Connecticut* (no. XL in this series), p. 21.

population. It was a rural people, holding to agrarian principles, who founded the colonies of Connecticut.

Rural though they were, however, in common with the other pioneers of the American frontier, they were not good farmers. Secure in the knowledge that out on the fringes of settlement virgin land could always be bought for a song, they exploited their soils with no attempt to preserve their productivity. It is a curious paradox of the American frontier that, owing to the abundance of land and the scarcity of labor, the most economical farming was often the most wasteful. Hence, antiquated methods were followed and, as the soil lost its fertility, the farmers left it in order to repeat the process farther on.

Another factor in the exodus northward from Connecticut was the growth of land speculation. During the seventeenth century the New England colonies in general had granted lands to groups of men for the purpose of founding communities. The proprietors were supposed to hold such lands in trust until assigning them to persons who would properly carry on the Puritan tradition. Yet, in the eighteenth century, as the density of settlement increased, and as it became necessary to reward the returning veterans of the wars with the French, a commercial element entered into the proceedings. Among the seaboard businessmen of Massachusetts and Connecticut were many who, as the result of trade, found themselves with a growing capital surplus to invest. Since the development of manufacturing enterprises was ruled out by the British mercantile system, investment in land seemed to them to be the only recourse. Consequently, with no thought of settling upon the lands themselves, they either bought the allotments to soldiers or sought new grants from the colonial authorities, with the idea of reselling the land at a profit. Realizing that actual settlement

would attract additional settlers, they often offered special inducements to the firstcomers.

While it seems clear that economic factors were chiefly responsible for the migration from the colony, religious considerations played a part as well. Irreconcilable differences over such matters as the Half Way Covenant and the proper combination of church and state were responsible for the founding of many a town, both within and without Connecticut's boundaries. Hartford and Wethersfield, for example, were hardly well established before a theological dispute as vague and indefinite, according to Cotton Mather, as the source of the Connecticut river, sent a disgruntled minority into the wilds above Springfield to settle Hadley, Massachusetts.

Troubles also arose as a result of the territorial extent of the parishes. In the early days of a settlement one church normally served a township. In consequence, people in outlying districts often found it difficult, because of the distance and other conditions affecting travel, to attend church services regularly. When the dissatisfied ones felt that the numbers in their section were sufficient to support a minister of their own, they applied to the general court for permission to form a separate church. Since the new church would diminish not only the area of the old parish but, by including all people and property within the new bounds, would diminish its revenue as well, the original churches regularly opposed any division. Sometimes numbers of petitions would be necessary and years would pass in controversy before the discontented either won their case or removed to more congenial surroundings.

Though difficulties of this sort tended to decrease during the eighteenth century, the Great Awakening brought in its train a new crop of theological dissensions.

Coming as it did just at the set of Connecticut's northward tide, it was perhaps the most important element in the religious cause of the migration. To check the ecclesiastical hysteria which was sweeping the colony, the general assembly, in 1742, forbade ministers to preach in any parish but their own, save on the invitation of both the people and pastor of the parish in question. This was followed a year later by a repeal of the law which allowed all who soberly dissented from the prevailing order to establish separate worship unmolested provided they paid their taxes for the support of the parish minister. Over the issues raised by these enactments there developed the Old Lights and the New Lights, two factions who opposed each other with complete disregard for the peaceful principles of the religion they both professed.

While this controversy was unquestionably responsible for the emigration of many individual families, it also caused a large group which had separated from the First Church of Norwich to move to Bennington, Vermont. One of the group, Deacon Joseph Safford, carried along the records of the Separate church which they had tried unsuccessfully to organize in Norwich. Bennington, in fact, seems to have become something of a center for New Light expatriates, as "Father" Joseph Marshall, pastor of the first Separate church in Canterbury, was a frequent visitor, and the Reverend John Palmer of the Separate church in that part of Windham which is now the town of Scotland, repeatedly served on the ecclesiastical councils of the town.

II

THERE were many reasons why the largest number of those who left Connecticut during the eighteenth cen-

ture traveled northward. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that it was the line of least resistance. In that direction, through natural gateways, lay the fertile valleys of the Connecticut and Housatonic rivers in western Massachusetts, still relatively unpopulated. Between them and eastern Massachusetts, holding back the westward spread of settlement, and deflecting to Maine and New Hampshire many of the Bay Colony's emigrants, stretched the barrier of broken, hilly country which comprised Worcester county. With Connecticut already a hive too full, and with Massachusetts speculators hunting for settlers for their western lands, a migration from Connecticut became inevitable.

Tradition also played a part, for Connecticut people had long been interested in the region. As early as 1653 the petition of John Pynchon, Eleazur Halliock, and Samuel Chapin to the general court of Massachusetts for permission to erect a settlement at what is now Northampton, was accompanied by one signed by twenty-four men of Connecticut setting forth in "theese few Leins" their desire to settle a section above Springfield. Hadley, a few years later, drew settlers from Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, some of whom had gone to Connecticut with Thomas Hooker in 1636. The frontier, however, still lured them on, for within two years some of them were pushing on to Hatfield, and by the end of the century their sons and daughters were moving back from the river to found Amherst.

The episode of the Equivalent Lands² helped further to direct the attention of the people of Connecticut to western Massachusetts. When the boundary between the two colonies was adjusted in 1713, it was found that

²See Roland M. Hooker, *Boundaries of Connecticut* (no. XI in this series), pp. 15-24, especially p. 20.

Massachusetts had granted 107,793 acres of land claimed by Connecticut. Massachusetts made compensation by ceding to Connecticut an equal number of its ungranted acres. These lands, lying mostly in the northwestern corner of the colony, were sold at auction at Hartford, Connecticut, and London, England, in 1716. They were the goal of many of those who, years later, plodded northward from Connecticut.

The movement which was to have such a profound effect on western New England gathered momentum slowly. Until the middle of the eighteenth century there were competing lands in Connecticut itself, especially in Litchfield county, which attracted many of those emigrating from the earlier settled portions of the colony. Others, few in number at first, turned their footsteps northward. There were Connecticut people at Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1717, and in 1736 Greenwich, Massachusetts, was granted to a group of proprietors hailing largely from Brookfield, Connecticut. Among the grantees of Bernardston, located beside Northfield on the northern border of the state, were men from thirteen Connecticut towns, while in other new settlements of the period Connecticut men played prominent parts. In Southampton, Jonathan Judd of Waterbury, fifth in descent from Deacon Thomas Judd who had accompanied Hooker, started, in 1743, a pastorate which was to last sixty years. Asahel Birge, another Connecticut emigrant, held at different times the offices of town clerk, selectman, justice of the peace, and representative in the legislature. This early Connecticut advance was paralleled by a gradually increasing number of emigrants from the older sections of Massachusetts. The Connecticut valley was the first goal of the easterners, but in 1735 a road was cut from Westfield to the Housatonic on which the

emigrants from both colonies mingled as they entered the Berkshires.

King George's War tended to hold back, but did not check, the movement. With rude stockades along the northern line of settlement providing a somewhat uncertain security, settlers from Canterbury and Suffield, Connecticut, combining with a few from eastern Massachusetts, founded the town of New Marlboro at the southern end of the present Berkshire county. At the same time the towns of the Connecticut valley continued to receive immigrants both from the south and from the east.

The end of the war saw a rapid spread of settlement. Many soldiers, whose services had acquainted them with the region, moved in to occupy a part of it. Such towns as Sandisfield, Alford, Becket, and Granville were founded, and assisting at the birth of each were natives of Connecticut. The early history of the settlement of the region about Williamstown well illustrates the process. Fort Massachusetts had been built in 1741 and garrisoned with fifty men, largely from Massachusetts. Captured and abandoned in 1746, it was rebuilt and its garrison doubled in 1747. The reduction of this force at the close of the hostilities furnished a number of settlers for the attractive valley lands in the country round about. To them were added small groups from Connecticut seeking farms along the frontier. West Hoosac (now Williamstown) was founded in 1753 a few miles from the fort and Allen Curtiss of Canaan was chosen moderator of the first meeting of the proprietors.

Although the outbreak of the French and Indian War caused some of the settlers to retire to less exposed regions, a Connecticut military company was formed to aid in the frontier's defense. In spite of the early defeats

of the English farther west, the population grew. In 1756, as the result of a petition to the general court, William Chidester, formerly of Connecticut, received permission to build a blockhouse at West Hoosac, which the colony agreed to garrison with ten soldiers. The return to the town of some of the Connecticut settlers, who had earlier retreated, aided the rapid completion of the project. Although the force consisted of local recruits, the first commander was sent over from Fort Massachusetts. The friction which quickly developed led to his replacement by Chidester and to a growing antagonism between the two forts. This feeling, according to the one scholar who has thoroughly familiarized himself with the situation, grew out of a long-standing antipathy between the Connecticut men and the men of the Bay, an antipathy which showed itself in other fields of contact during those trying years.

The end of the war saw a further influx of Connecticut pioneers and their establishment as the dominant element of the entire section. Williamstown, incorporated in 1765, was settled largely from the regions about Killingly, Litchfield, and Colchester. At least twenty-five families from Colchester alone left posterity there. According to Professor A. L. Perry, this infusion of Connecticut families into a Massachusetts township resulted in "some pretty sharp differences in the social and religious conditions of Williamstown as compared with those of the typical Massachusetts town."

At that time all older New England seemed to be on the move. Charlestown, New Hampshire, was thronged with companies interested in the upper Connecticut valley or the land to the west. The Crown Point road, built through the Green Mountains for military purposes, enticed many who might otherwise have settled along the

river into the mountain valleys of the New Hampshire Grants. Such glowing reports of the soil and climate of northwestern New England came back to the rocky farms of Windham county that, in the words of its historian, "emigration raged . . . like an epidemic and seemed likely to sweep away a great part of the population." Through Windham county, also, traveled so many families from the regions farther south that when a flood in 1771 carried away many of the bridges, the authorities refused to reconstruct them without outside aid. This position they justified by reference to the abundant use of the bridges made by great numbers of families "traveling to the west part of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and the north part of New York."

Once settled in the new regions, the pioneers acted as magnets to friends and relatives. William Bradley of New Haven, who had been stationed at Lanesboro during the fighting, brought his wife and four boys into the country in 1762. Eight years later his brother Jesse moved his wife and seven children to a farm in Lee. Shortly after, to Stockbridge, came his cousin Elisha with a wife and eight children. Jabez Bradley, another relative, accompanied by his father-in-law and his brother-in-law with their respective families, settled near Jesse. All the Bradleys occupied responsible positions in their respective towns.

In general the positions of political trust seem to have been dominated by the immigrants from Connecticut. Ezra May, for instance, a native of Woodstock, and one of the earliest settlers of the present town of Chesterfield, was moderator of the first town meeting, constable, and chairman of the selectmen, in addition to being the first deacon in the church. Of Middlefield, to which in one decade came one hundred and fourteen Connecticut

settlers as compared with eighty-seven from older Massachusetts towns, a recent historian has written that "the Connecticut men proved to be better home makers." They acted together, controlled the elections, and governed the town. Among the selectmen chosen between 1793 and 1800 thirteen out of seventeen were from Connecticut while in the following thirty years all but one were of Connecticut birth.

Perhaps nowhere, however, was the Connecticut influence more evident than in the ecclesiastical life of the region. Of the thirty-eight ministers settled in Berkshire county before 1800, Yale furnished twenty-six. In the territory covered by Old Hampshire the proportion of Yale men was not so overwhelming, but it was sufficient to give a definite Connecticut tinge to that county's development. When, in 1785, nine trustees were appointed to carry out the will of Ephraim Williams and establish a free school in Williamstown, seven were Yale graduates, and when the school opened in 1791, Ebenezer Fitch, Yale 1777, was chosen president. With the chartering of the school as a college in 1793, three more trustees were added, two of whom were Yale trained. President Fitch and seven of the trustees were natives of Connecticut as well.

All these factors—the lateness of the settlement as compared to the towns of eastern Massachusetts, the frontier character of the society, and the influx of population from another colony—tended to develop those marked differences between the western and eastern parts of Massachusetts that were so evident at the time of the Revolution. As has been pointed out by the historian of New England's expansion, western Massachusetts "supplied the most radical element in the new state," at first toward England, and later toward the conservative sea-

board. It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that the first organizer of the movement which culminated in Shays's Rebellion was a deposed clergyman who had come to Hampshire county from Somers, Connecticut. The process by which this new Connecticut finally merged itself into the cultural life of Massachusetts was a long and painful one.

III

FAR from solving Connecticut's population problem, the early emigration seemed only to intensify it. Connecticut people were ready, therefore, when the French and Indian menace had been removed, to take full advantage of the grants of Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire in what he considered the western confines of his colony. Two streams of migration, one following the Connecticut valley, the other working up the Housatonic valley or along the waterways of eastern New York, converged on the eastern and western slopes of the Green Mountains. While in both the Connecticut influence dominated, the settlers moving up the Connecticut river were joined by many from Rhode Island, eastern Massachusetts, and eastern New Hampshire. These served to render somewhat more cosmopolitan the settlements to the east of the mountains. To the west, where the immigrants came largely from western Connecticut and western Massachusetts, with a small sprinkling of New Yorkers, the most distinctive of the new Connecticuts developed.

The town of Pawlet, Vermont, furnished an illustration of a process which, with variations, was repeated over and over again. Captain Jonathan Willard, born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1720, had resided for many years at Colchester, Connecticut. Seized with the wan-

derlust, about 1750 he moved to Albany, New York, opened a public house, and furnished stores for the army at Lake George. After eight years in Albany, he moved on to Saratoga where he entered the lumber business. In 1760 he visited the New Hampshire Grants, obtained a grant for a town, and entered the names of his old neighbors in Connecticut in the charter. He then traveled to Colchester to tell his friends of his actions. Many, of course, had no desire to move. For a mug of flip or a new hat he purchased so many of their rights that he acquired title to two thirds of the town. With nine hired men and several horses he established himself and planted wheat. At the same time others from Colchester and Canterbury arrived. In this small area old Connecticut was reproduced, its laws were reënacted, its local festivities were observed, and election cake was eaten with as keen a relish as in the down-country home of the settlers. During the first fifteen years of its existence the proportion of newcomers from Connecticut, as compared to those from elsewhere, was approximately four to one.

Often it happened that a group of neighbors from some Connecticut town would decide to remove together. As a group they would obtain their grant, allocate their lands, and elect their town officers long before they actually left their old homes. Sometimes the men would spend a summer or two, preparing homes and planting crops, returning to Connecticut when winter set in. The earliest town meetings of many Vermont towns were thus held in Connecticut. The charter for the town of Castleton, for instance, was granted in 1761. The earliest proprietors' meeting of which there is an account was held in 1766 in Salisbury, Connecticut, probably at the home of Col. Amos Bird. After several more meetings at the same place, on February 27, 1770, the proprietors

adjourned to reconvene at the house of Colonel Bird in Castleton on May 27 at 2 P.M.

Other inhabitants of Salisbury formed the majority of the grantees of the later Salisbury, Vermont. Although this town was surveyed in 1762, its settlement was slow until after the Revolution. With the coming of peace, however, its growth became so rapid that sufficient food for the inhabitants was produced only with the greatest difficulty.

In Pomfret, Connecticut, as in so many other Connecticut towns, the better farming lands, which were largely held by the descendants of the earliest settlers, could not be easily purchased. Since in the households of three neighbors thirty-three children were growing up, to provide food for so many mouths, as well as occupation for so many hands, had become a serious problem. As early as 1735 a number of citizens had attempted unsuccessfully to purchase a township in the Equivalent Lands. In 1761 one of these same citizens, Isaac Dana, together with his son and others in the town, received a patent from Governor Wentworth to a township in the New Hampshire Grants. This township, which was originally named New Pomfret, had as its first settler Benjamin Durkee, from its Connecticut namesake. Others followed him from Pomfret and at least twenty-one names of neighboring Woodstock (Connecticut) families were to be found among the early settlers. Dana's son became the town clerk while John Throop of Woodstock represented the town in the first legislature of Vermont.

Early in the same year in which Pomfret was granted, a petition was circulated through the region of the Thames river in eastern Connecticut asking Wentworth for a grant of four townships on the Connecticut river. After being extensively signed, the petition was carried

to Portsmouth by Edmund Freeman and Joseph Storrs of the town of Mansfield. On July 4 they received patents to four adjacent towns, two on each side of the river. Three of the first town meetings of these four towns were held in Mansfield; the fourth took place in near-by Windham, Connecticut. In consequence, the large majority of the first settlers in Norwich and Hartford, Vermont, and in Hanover and Lebanon, New Hampshire, were from Connecticut, and Dartmouth College, like Williams, was started in a distinctly Connecticut atmosphere. In fact, fifty-five of the sixty-eight shares of the town of Hanover were assigned to settlers from Windham. A native of Windham, the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, a graduate of Yale and for many years minister at Lebanon Crank (now Columbia), founded the college.

To take up the history of other towns of Vermont individually would involve mere repetition. Suffice it to say that over forty of the earliest towns founded between the Connecticut river and the Champlain valley bear the names of Connecticut towns and in numbers of others the first town clerks, moderators, selectmen, representatives to the state legislature, and church deacons were natives of Connecticut.

Liberalism, independence, and impatience with restraint characterized this as they did all other American frontiers. Here, as in other cases, it was the individualists, the dissatisfied, the nonconformers who moved first and stamped their individuality on the settlements. At Canterbury, Connecticut, many people were offended by the bluntness and lack of discretion of the pastor of the Separate church. After considerable agitation, a council held in 1768 decided that "Brother Joseph Marshall be dismissed from the pastoral care of this church, on

account of the contentions in the church respecting his gifts and ordination, which renders his improvement unprofitable." Brother Marshall promptly took the trail, first to western Connecticut, and later to the Grants where, amid more congenial surroundings, his labors, so we are told, were greatly blessed.

Under the liberal terms of Wentworth's grants there quickly developed in the Green Mountains a system of town government surpassing in its spirit of independence and unbridled democracy even its prototype in the colony to the south. The remoteness of the provincial government at Portsmouth, the sparseness of the population, and the dangers of the wilderness naturally led to this result among people already by previous training deeply imbued with the idea of local self-government. There was hardly a function of civil government that these little republics did not essay in the first twenty years of their existence.

Perhaps of even greater importance, however, was the part taken by natives of Connecticut in the organization of the state of Vermont. Of these, no one was more important than Ira Allen of Salisbury. Hired by a group of Connecticut proprietors to survey a township in the Grants, he saw the possibilities of wealth in land speculation. After forming a land company with his brothers Ethan, Heman, and Zimri, and Remember Baker, he explored and secured title to large tracts of land in various parts of the area. Some of its holdings the company sold to neighbors in Salisbury, Thomas Chittenden being a large purchaser. All might have gone well had a dispute not arisen between New Hampshire and New York over the jurisdiction of the region. All the company's lands rested on grants from Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire, so, when the king of England, by an

order in council in 1764, declared the Connecticut river north of where it entered Massachusetts to be the eastern boundary of New York, the Salisbury people saw their investment threatened. When, in addition, the governor of New York indicated that he would not disturb actual settlers on the lands granted by New Hampshire, but that he had no sympathy for speculators, there was bound to be trouble.

Along the banks of the Connecticut river, where a larger proportion of the land was held by actual settlers from all three of the southern New England colonies, New York's jurisdiction was at first accepted with little question. Led by Thomas Chandler who, with his two sons, had left Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1761 to locate in what is now Chester, Vermont, the settlers signed a petition to New York praying the establishment of an adequate government over the region.

West of the Green Mountains, where the largest part of the Allens' land was located, and where nearly all the actual settlers were from western Connecticut or western Massachusetts, the king's proclamation led to the dispatch of an agent to London and preparations for active resistance to the extension of New York's control. A short time later one of the few settlers who had taken land under the authority of New York wrote to a friend:

One Ethan Allen hath brought from Connecticut twelve or fifteen of the most blackguard fellows he can get, double-armed in order to protect him, and if some method is not taken to subdue the towns of Bennington, Shaftsbury, Arlington and Manchester and those people in Socialborough [now Clarendon], and others scattering about the woods, there had as good be an end of government.

The story of the turbulent meetings in which the Green Mountain Boys, led by the Allens, Remember

Baker, and the Connecticut-born Seth Warner, encountered New York sheriffs and surveyors, needs no retelling. As a result of those meetings, in the fertile brain of Ira Allen there arose the idea, first of a fourteenth colony, and then of an independent state. That he and his brother, Ethan, considered this solution for some months before any action was taken, seems evident from the fact that in March, 1775, Ethan wrote to Oliver Wolcott, who had been sheriff in Ethan's home county in Connecticut, for advice as to the mode of government to be established over the settlements. Later in that year or early in 1776 at Salisbury, Connecticut, Ira won over his brother, Heman, Thomas Chittenden, and Dr. Jonas Fay to the plan.

Apparently believing that the people should be brought to the idea by degrees, a convention of the towns west of the Green Mountains was held at Dorset in January, 1776, to petition the Continental Congress to allow the Grants to take part in the resistance to England under their own authority, rather than under that of New York. Heman Allen presented the memorial to the congress, which ordered it to lie upon the table for further consideration. Heman then withdrew it and returned to report to a second convention of the western settlements held in July. This convention promptly resolved that "application be made to the Inhabitants of said Grants to form the same into a separate district." All inhabitants were invited to subscribe to this "Association" and persons were appointed to carry the idea to the people east of the mountains as well. Thus it happened that when the committees of the eastern counties assembled in August to nominate officers for their militia, Heman Allen, Jonas Fay, and William Marsh were present. They argued the subject of a separate jurisdiction, described the boundaries of what might be a new state, and asked the approval

of the committees for the project. The committees in turn called town meetings to determine the views of their constituents.

In September, at an adjourned session of the Dorset convention, with ten of the eastern towns represented, a plan was adopted for ruling the Grants through the resolves of similar meetings regularly held. It was further decided that in the future no law or direction received from New York would be accepted or obeyed.

At the time of the next meeting, which was scheduled for October 30, found the British advancing on Ticonderoga, and the various delegates far too occupied with plans for defense to attend. In consequence, it was postponed until January 15, 1777, when twenty-two representatives from fifteen towns came together. Among them were Thomas C. and Ira and Heman Allen. Discussions over the formation of a state had by this time become general throughout the towns, and the time for action seemed to have arrived. After brief reports, indicating that east of the mountains a majority of the settlers favored this procedure, and that west of the mountains there was practical unanimity for it, a declaration of independence was adopted and the name, New Connecticut, was chosen. Among the members of this convention at least nine were former residents of Connecticut, four came from Massachusetts, one had resided in New Hampshire, and one in New York. Of the seven whose origins are not known, five represented towns which had been settled very largely from Connecticut.

Although the Connecticut influence continued to dominate in the new state, its name lasted only until the next general convention, which met at Windsor in June, 1777. There it was decided that, since a district on the Susquehanna river had for some time been known as New

Connecticut, and since it would be inconvenient for two separate districts to bear the same name, the region of the Grants should be called Vermont.

Another indication of the close connection with Connecticut was the overwhelming predominance of the men from Connecticut in the early state government. Thomas Chittenden served as governor, with the exception of but one year, from 1778 until 1797. Eight of the next fourteen governors also came from Connecticut. Ira Allen was the state's first treasurer and Jonas Fay, in addition to being entrusted with missions to the surrounding states, acted at different times as secretary of state and judge. Among the many other Connecticut men who made important contributions to Vermont's early development might be mentioned Nathaniel Chipman of Salisbury, one of Vermont's ablest chief justices; Stephen Row Benson of Cheshire (then part of Wallingford), commissioner to the first congress on behalf of Vermont and one of Vermont's first senators; Thomas Chandler, Jr., of Woodstock, Vermont's first secretary of state; Gamaliel Painter of Salisbury, a member of the council of censors and one of the men largely responsible for the establishment of Middlebury College; and Governors Jonas Galusha of Norwich and Israel Smith of Suffield.

Connecticut also was the source from which Vermont derived many of its ideas of government and law. In the journal of the first session of the general assembly, there are two entries in these words:

Passed an act for the punishing high treason and other atrocious crimes, as said act stands in the Connecticut law-book.

Passed an act against treacherous conspiracies, as said act stands in the Connecticut law-book.

A comparison of other laws enacted by the assembly

with the Connecticut statutes indicates that they served as the source from which many principles embodied in the penal statutes of Vermont were drawn.

In short, to western Massachusetts and to Vermont went, in that early day, the largest share of Connecticut's emigrants. In new homes carved out of the wilderness, they carried on Connecticut traditions and clung to old Connecticut canons. For Connecticut itself, these territories served as a safety valve. To them flowed the stream of the discontented, the nonconformers, and those who sought wider economic opportunities. With the continued draining away of such elements, the tendency to uniformity and conservatism within the state itself was accentuated. Connecticut came to be known as the Land of Steady Habits.

Bibliographical Note

SOME additional information will be found in Lois K. M. Rosenberrys, *Migrations from Connecticut prior to 1800* (No. XXVIII in this series) and in Lois K. Mathews, *Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909), which contains helpful references to source material. The causes of migration from Connecticut are explained in Albert L. Olsons, *Agricultural economy and the population in eighteenth-century Connecticut* (No. XL in this series).

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The Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission has issued, during the past few years, a series of small pamphlets upon a great variety of topics, selected for the purpose of making better known among the people of Connecticut and others as many of the features as possible of the history and life of Connecticut as colony and state. No attempt has been made to deal with these subjects in either logical or chronological order, the intention having been to issue pamphlets at any time upon any subject that seemed to be of interest and worthy to be made a matter of record.

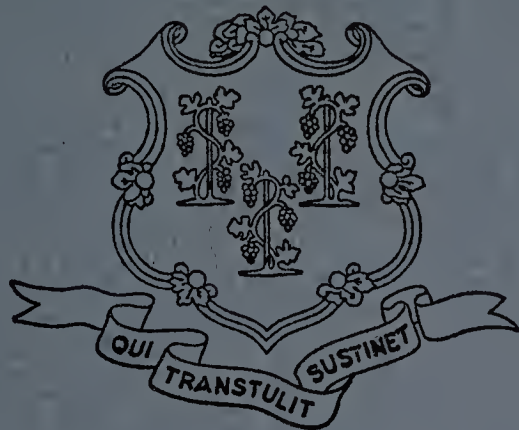
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The Hartford Wits

ANNIE RUSSELL MARBLE

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The Hartford Wits

ANNIE RUSSELL MARBLE

I

HARTFORD on the Connecticut," as the old records often located the place, has received merited honor for its contributions to statecraft and literature during the three hundred years of its history. From the days of the pioneer religious leader, Thomas Hooker, with strong, persuasive words in speech and written sermon, to the nineteenth-century group of noted writers who lived as neighbors—Mark Twain, Charles Dudley Warner, Harriet Beecher Stowe—Hartford has wielded a world-wide literary influence.

It was during the decade after the American Revolution, called by John Fiske the critical period of American history, that Hartford became famous for its group of pungent satirists, who were ardent Federalists, and who have been recalled in literary histories as the Hartford Wits.¹ The lines of their aggressive poem, *The Anarchiad or American antiquities*, and the lighter mock-heroics of

¹Some account of the Hartford Wits also appears in S. T. Williams, *Literature of Connecticut* (no. LI in this series).

The echo, may seem heavy and strained to readers of today, but they were models of political influence and literary form in their generation. They have a distinctive place in every retrospect of American history and letters.

None of the men who formed this group were natives of Hartford; they foregathered there, for diverse reasons, during the years of the Revolutionary War and its aftermath. They had received their education, in large part, and their incentive to writing, from tutors and associates at Yale College. They represented different professions and crafts: John Trumbull was a lawyer and writer of burlesques; Colonel David Humphreys had been an aide of General Washington and a diplomat; Lemuel Hopkins was one of the most skilful, progressive physicians of his time. Richard Alsop, whose home was in Middletown, was interested in a bookstore in Hartford and spent much time there with his friends. Joel Barlow, who had been a chaplain in the war, had studied law and written poems; he was editing the *American Mercury* and was sharing partnership with Elisha Babcock in a printing-house and bookstore in Hartford, during a part of the time when these satires were appearing in newspapers.

Why did they choose satire to express their ardent political views and to attack their opponents and rebuke the Anti-Federalists? Because this form was then—and has been ever since—one of the most effective weapons in literature. It was much in favor, in the later eighteenth century, in England and in France. Writers in the American colonies who had defied English misrule and urged revolt had often used irony, burlesque, lampoons, satire in many varieties, for their verses, broadsides, and plays. Philip Freneau, Francis Hopkinson, John Dickinson, Mercy Warren, John Trumbull had won readers and made political converts by the witty lines and fantastic

situations in which they satirized King George III, Lord North, and General Gage. While they defied English rulers they imitated English writers, and their satires were closely modeled after Pope and Churchill.

II

WITH whom, among these friends in Hartford, did the idea originate of writing their political satire as *The Anarchiad*? This is a question that has never been answered with definite authority. The conception has been credited to Colonel David Humphreys, to Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, to Richard Alsop, and to John Trumbull, by different surmisers. The chances favor the first suggestion. The form of the poem is similar to that of *The Rolliad*, an English satire which was one of the much-discussed publications of the months from December, 1785 to February, 1786, when David Humphreys was in England on a diplomatic mission.

The American satire was published in the *New Haven gazette and the Connecticut magazine* from October 26, 1786 to September 13, 1787. Its title was *The Anarchiad or American antiquities: a poem on the restoration of chaos and substantial night*. A prose introduction gave an explanation of the discovery, by an archeologist, of a ruined fortification and within "a number of utensils more curious and elegant than those of Palmyra and Herculaneum." In addition there was found "a folio manuscript which appeared to contain an epic poem, complete"—namely, this *Anarchiad* in twenty-four books. Throughout the country, from New England to Pennsylvania and Virginia, extracts from this satire were copied in newspapers and quoted on many occasions. In spite of such current interest the first edition of the collected numbers of the *Anarchiad* did not appear until 1861, when it was

edited by Luther G. Riggs, with notes, and published in New Haven.

A side light upon the great demand for the original newspaper issues and a definite mention of the collaborators are found in a letter from Colonel David Humphreys to General Washington in which he recorded his desire to send several of the late papers "which contained performances written by Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Barlow, & myself, in a style & manner, I believe somewhat superior to common newspaper publications: but the demand has been so uncommonly great for those papers that there is not a single one to be obtained." He added: "It was pleasant enough to observe how some leading Men, of erroneous politics, were stung to the soul by shafts of satire."

This political satire mingled intense patriotism with imitations of Milton and Pope (for Anarch and his proselyte, Wronghead, were Miltonic, while certain lines were modeled after the *Dunciad*). Fears that the disorganized American states might be disrupted by such enemies as those who fostered Shays's Rebellion, by paper money, greed, and monarchical ideas, offered them specific themes for their mock-heroics. In the eighth number was a bit of persiflage—possibly written by John Trumbull—at the expense of William Williams, a fine scholar and patriot, who had been one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and who was at the moment a candidate for election to the upper house of the state assembly as a Democrat. The ode, "Genius of America," in the fifth series, was written by Humphreys and included in his later collected poems. It was popular as a broadside and a song, to the tune of "The watery god, great Neptune, lay." A part of the "Speech of Hesper to the sages and counsellors at Philadelphia" has

been ascribed to Dr. Lemuel Hopkins because it has detailed accounts of the sufferings and scars of the war veterans. The conclusion is an appeal for a centralized government and for recognition of "one potent head":

Ere death invades, and night's deep curtain falls,
Through ruined realms the voice of UNION calls;

.

On you she calls! attend the warning cry:
YE LIVE UNITED, OR DIVIDED DIE!

III

THE *Anarchiad* was the expression of the serious political viewpoint of this small group of Hartford friends. They had a jovial side to their natures and, with the passing of years, probably increased the membership of those who gathered in offices, or around some fireside, to discuss affairs of state and educational progress. Nearly a decade passed after the first satire had been published in the *New Haven gazette* before a second series in lighter moods began to appear in the *American Mercury*, later to be collected as *The echo* in 1807. This weekly newspaper was established in Hartford, in 1784, by Joel Barlow and Elisha Babcock. When the *Echo* series began to attract attention in this journal, in August, 1791, two of the earlier group of Hartford Wits, Barlow and Humphreys, were in Europe. Besides Hopkins, Theodore Dwight, and Alsop, who wrote some of the satiric and fantastic lines, other contributors were Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith and Dr. Mason Fitch Cogswell. Possibly Uriah Tracy of Litchfield, Judge Tapping Reeve, and Judge Zephaniah Swift contributed occasionally, in written lines or by oral suggestions.

The Preface to the collected series, published in 1807 in New York as *The echo, with other poems, printed at the*

Porcupine Press by *Pasquin Petronius*, assigned these papers to "a moment of literary sportiveness, at a time when pedantry, affectation and bombast, pervaded most of the pieces published in the gazettes." "Willing to lend their aid to check the progress of false taste in American literature, the authors conceived that ridicule would prove a powerful corrective, and that the mode employed in *THE ECHO*, was the best suited to this purpose." The droll pseudonym for the publisher-editor, Pasquin Petronius, concealed the real name of Isaac Riley, Esq., the brother-in-law of Richard Alsop and of Theodore Dwight.

The first number of the *Echo* series was a parody in rhyme upon a bombastic account, printed in a Boston newspaper, in which a thunderstorm was described in such terms as "uncorked bottles of heaven," "livid flames," and "disploding thunders." The Hartford Wits title, parodied the imagery:

And to people to reflection given,
 "The sons of Boston, the elect of heaven."
 Presented Mercy's Angel smiling fair,
 Irradiate splendors frizzled in his hair,
 Uncorking demi-johns, and pouring down
 Heaven's liquid blessings on the gaping town.

Political as well as journalistic extravaganzas were treated with scornful irony. Ornate words by Hugh Henry Brackenridge and demagogues of the Jacobin type were burlesqued. One of the most widely read and quoted numbers was the eighteenth, *New Year's verses* by Hopkins which was issued in 1795 as a pamphlet entitled *The democratiad; a poem in retaliation, for the Philadelphia Jockey Club, by a Gentleman of Connecticut*.

The next year Hopkins, for New Year's, wrote another lampoon, *The guillotina; or a democratic dirge*, which was

printed in the *Connecticut courant* for January 1, 1796, and reprinted as a broadside. The ire which Hopkins felt towards the Anti-Federalists was expressed with ironic humor in this stanza:

Come sing again! since Ninety-Five,
Has left some *Antis* still alive;
Some Jacobins as pert as ever,
Tho' much was hop'd from Yellow-fever.

There were other references to yellow fever and sympathy for its victims in *The political greenhouse for the year 1798*. In the copy of the *Echo*, once owned by John Trumbull and now in the Connecticut Historical Society, a note says that this contribution was written by Hopkins, Alsop, and Dwight. Among the victims of this scourge of yellow fever in New York was Dr. Elihu Smith, one of the Hartford Wits. At his summer home in Litchfield, in 1793, Dr. Smith had made the first extensive anthology of American poems. According to Trumbull's note, Smith was the author of one of the oddo series, *Extracts from democracy, an epic poem, by Aquabe Nimblechops*. An opera, assigned to this same writer, entitled *Edwin and Angelina, or the banditti*, was "formed and praised."

The thirteenth number of the *Echo* was a parody of a Democratic attack on Federal printers in the Eastern states, in a Philadelphia journal of 1793. This virulent attack, signed "Mirabeau," was echoed:

Hartford! curst corner of the spacious earth!
Where each dire mischief ripens into birth,
Whence dark cabals against our statesmen rise
And spread a black'ning cloud o'er eastern skies:
Whose impious sons, by decency unsway'd,
Nor check'd by prudence, nor by fear dismay'd,

.

Hartford detested more by faction's race
Than harden'd sinner hates the call of grace.

Other issues of the *Echo* contained travesties of speeches by Thomas Jefferson and John Hancock. In January, 1799, a passage from the *Echo* was quoted in Congress by John Nicholas of Virginia, who affirmed that it showed Connecticut wanted war with France. There was an answer in a later *Echo* with a "Complimentary address to the Hon. John Nicholas."

IV

IN the group of scholars and writers who gave literary supremacy to Hartford during these years of political crisis, John Trumbull² was one of the older and most honored by his contemporaries. Even in those days of many prodigies this minister's son from Westbury, Connecticut, had a remarkable record. According to family tradition, he was able to read and "compose rhymes" at the age of three. At seven, he passed examinations for Yale College but his entrance "was delayed on account of his youth." During the period of waiting he "mastered" books on mathematics and English literature.

The subject of his Commencement address for the master's degree on September 12, 1770, was "An essay on the use and advantages of the fine arts"; from his undergraduate days, and through his teaching as tutor at Yale, he urged more attention to literature and less to "scholastic theology." He wrote essays in the manner of Addison and verses imitative of Pope. His burlesque, *The progress of dulness* (second edition, New Haven, 1773) contained a couplet that is recalled:

²See A. Cowie, *Educational problems at Yale College in the eighteenth century* (no. LV in this series), section VII.

Good sense, like fruits, is rais'd by toil;
But follies sprout in ev'ry soil.

Some of his earlier satires may be located in issues of the *Boston chronicle* (1769), signed "The Meddler," and of the *Connecticut journal* (1770 and 1773), signed "The Correspondent." While he was studying law in the office of John Adams in Boston he wrote a political satire, *An elegy on the times* and the first canto of *M'Fingal, a modern epic poem*, which was "Printed and sold by William and Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee House, Philadelphia." The second canto, with the first, was issued in Philadelphia, Boston, and London in 1776. The first edition of the completed poem in four cantos was printed by Hudson & Goodwin of Hartford in 1782. More than forty editions of this satire appeared during the next seventy-five years.

The first and second cantos are more spontaneous than the later parts. In the third canto, however, was the famous description of the "tar and feather" process which was declaimed by schoolboys of later generations; another stanza, often quoted, was the recantation by M'Fingal:

I here renounce the Pope, the Turks,
The King, the Devil and all their works;
And will, set me but once at ease,
Turn Whig or Christian, what you please.

John Trumbull married Sarah Hubbard of New Haven after his return from Boston; he practised law for a time in New Haven but by 1784 moved to Hartford where he made his residence for many years. He served in the legislature and as judge of the supreme court of errors. His last six years were spent in the home of his daughter in Detroit where he died in 1831. He suffered from frequent attacks of illness, perhaps resultant from too much

study and too little physical activity in his youth. The publication of his *Poetical works* (2 vols., Hartford, 1820) by Samuel G. Goodrich (Peter Parley) gave satisfaction to the author and his friends but the publisher "quietly pocketed a loss of about a thousand dollars."

V

SHORTLY after John Trumbull settled in Hartford Dr. Lemuel Hopkins came thither to establish himself. Born in 1750, a native of the parish of Salem, now the town of Naugatuck, he had from his youth been interested in medicine. His studies were pursued under Dr. Jared Potter of Wallingford and Dr. Seth Bird of Litchfield, after which he had a brief experience of service in the Revolutionary War. For over sixteen years, until his death in 1801, he was a man of marked personality and influence in Hartford and the surrounding towns. His medical skill and his brusque wit were long remembered. The Hopkins Medical Society, founded in 1826, was a memorial to him. He led attacks upon every kind of quackery. One of the familiar tales is his challenge to a quack doctor who had left some "fever powders" as a cure for a girl who was dying of tuberculosis. With Dr. Mason Cogswell, Dr. Hopkins, who was acknowledged as a specialist in the treatment of tuberculosis, was visiting this patient. He read on the wrapper over the powders the warning, "one and a half powders was the maximum that was safe to take." He calmly mixed twelve of the powders in molasses and said to his colleague, as he swallowed the mixture, "Cogswell, I am going to Coventry today. If I die from this you must write on my tombstone, 'Here lies Hopkins, killed by Grimes.'" In fact, Hopkins possessed an unusually discriminating knowledge of tuberculosis and appreciated its curability.

In letters which he wrote to his friend, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., which are in manuscript at the Connecticut Historical Society, are passages of keen wit and sane philosophy of living. Here are sage comments that are relevant today:

The more a man is among all sorts of people, the more fully will he learn the unmeasured difference there is between the sentiments of newspapers, replete with local politics, and the opinions of an enlighten'd people in the peaceful and successful pursuit of wealth & happiness. . . . I find more and more that a busy set of wrongheads can at pleasure stir up, for a time, any sentiments they please in cities—and that there is a great aptitude in most men to consider *cities* as *worlds*, or at least as the manufactories of sentiments for whole countries—and much of this may be true in the old world; but in N. England the contrary is, and ever will be true, as long as our schools, presses and Town-corporations last.

Goodrich, in his *Recollections of a lifetime*, pictured the eccentric personality of this progressive physician and witty writer who, he said, “in point of genius stood at the head of the noted literary fraternity of ‘Hartford Wits’ ”:

He was often described to me as long and lank, walking with spreading arms and straddling legs. His nose was long, lean, and flexible; his eyes protruding, and his whole expression a strange mixture of solemnity and drollery. He was of a social disposition, and often in talking at a neighbor's house, would forget his business engagements. He was intimate with Theodore Dwight, and his daughter has told me that she recollects his coming to their house, and being very much fatigued, he laid himself down on the floor, and put a log of wood under his head for a pillow. Here he began to dictate poetry, which her father wrote down.

As an author Dr. Hopkins mingled acrid satire with wholesome sentiment. He was represented by several poems in *Poets of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1843), edited by Charles W. Everest, among them “Poland,” “Gen.

Wayne and the West," "On Gen. Ethan Allen" and "Lines on the Yellow Fever." More simple and typical of this physician and patriot are these lines from *The guillotina*:

Spread Knowledge then; *this only Hope*,
Can make each eye a *telescope*,
Frame it by *microscopic* art,
To scan the hypocritic heart.

VI

A CLOSE friend of Dr. Hopkins was Theodore Dwight, younger brother of Timothy Dwight, religious poet and president of Yale College. Theodore Dwight was born in Northampton in 1764, and passed his early years on a farm where wolves and wildcats were occasional neighbors. When he was twenty years old he injured his wrist so badly that his career as a farmer was ended—"so he became a student." In Goodrich's *Recollections* he was credited with "the most brilliant fancy and playful wit" of the Hartford group of writers. He had "black, flashing eyes and a lip that curled easily in laughter or satire." His fund of learning was matched by that of anecdote. "Lines on the death of Washington" was one of the best poems by Theodore Dwight. To the *Echo* he contributed some of the most vivacious lines; among them was "The triumph of democracy" (January 1, 1801), which was issued separately later and listed as his composition. In mock-heroics he rejoiced at the favor shown to Jefferson, with scornful references to the alliance between Jefferson and Aaron Burr and the resulting election contest:

Let every voice with triumph sing—
JEFFERSON is chosen king!
Ring every bell in every steeple,
T'announce the 'Monarch of the People!'

Stop—ere your civic feasts begin,
Wait 'till the votes are all come in;
Perchance, amid this mighty stir,
Your Monarch may be Col. BURR!

Dwight was a lawyer and a writer of strong prose as well as of satiric verse. After enriching the columns of the *Courant* with his New Year's verses and other contributions, he edited, from 1809 to 1815, the *Connecticut mirror*, the Hartford organ of the Federalist party. After serving in 1814 as secretary of the Hartford Convention³ he moved to New York where, from 1817 to 1835, he "conducted" the *New York Daily advertiser*. In 1833 he wrote a *History of the Hartford Convention with a review of the policy of the United States government which led to the War of 1812*. He captured interest by the opening words of challenge:

No political subject that has ever occupied the attention or excited the feelings of the great body of the people of these United States, has ever been the theme of more gross misrepresentation or more constant reproaches than the assembly of delegates from several of the New England states, which met at Hartford in the state of Connecticut, in December, 1814, commonly called the Hartford Convention. It has been reviled by multitudes of persons who were totally unacquainted with its objects and by not a few who probably were ignorant even of the geographical position of the place where the convention was held.

VII

THE wife of Theodore Dwight was Abigail Alsop, sister of the most genuine poet in this group of Hartford writers, Richard Alsop. He was the fifth Richard in direct descent from the ancestor who came to this country and settled in Newtown on Long Island. The fortunes

³ See W. E. Buckley, *Hartford Convention* (no. XXIV in this series).

of the Alsop family increased through investments in land in this country and trade with the West Indies, so that the father of the poet left an estate of £34,818 in Connecticut, besides investments in Long Island. Richard, the eldest child, was born in 1761 in Middletown. His mother, Mary Wright, was a woman of charm, wisdom, and courage.

Though Richard prepared for Yale, he preferred to carry on his studies in languages and sciences according to his own tastes. One of his earliest literary projects was to be "A history of Scandinavia; an epic." He spent much time in New York and Hartford but his home was in Middletown. He was deeply interested in botany and birdlore as well as in the history of the literatures of Italy and Spain. In the *Diary* of William Dunlap, America's early dramatist, there are frequent references to his friendship with Richard Alsop and the latter's sister, Fanny, and visits to their homes in Middletown and Hartford. Thus, in November, 1797, they discussed Saint-Pierre's *Études de la nature* and recent poetry, and went out shooting ducks on the river. "After dinner Richard & self ride up to Hartford in his Chair, arrive in the evening and drink tea at Theodore's [Dwight] where Miss Fanny Alsop now is."

The two sisters of Richard Alsop, Fanny and Mary, recognized his scholarly nature. The former said of Richard, "He seemed to know every variety of birds and I might almost say, every feather." She assisted him in preserving his large collection of natural history specimens. Mary Alsop wrote poems with a strong religious undertone and with evidences of careful reading of history and Plutarch's *Lives*. Some examples of her verse, in manuscript, are among the Dwight Papers at the New York Public Library. Richard Alsop spent some time in

New York where his brother, John, had a bookstore and where his brother-in-law, Isaac Riley, was a publisher. Perhaps the expense of publishing the *Echo* series with other verses was borne by Alsop; he was, doubtless, the editor of the papers and he carefully selected the examples of wit and political counsel.

In studying the poetry by Richard Alsop one finds the longer poem, *Charms of fancy*, which was highly rated in his day and issued with a memorial sketch of the author in 1856, less praiseworthy, by modern standards, than some of his shorter verses. It is a vision of America's future in art, music, and poetry, typical of the ardent patriotism of the day but stiff in diction. Akenside's *Pleasure of the imagination*, an English poem of the time, may have been the model. Far more worthy of tribute was his elegy, *A poem sacred to the memory of George Washington* (Hartford, Hudson & Goodwin, 1800). In the writer's judgment the most remarkable poem by Richard Alsop is not found among his collected works, as published, but is given, with his name as author, in Kettell's *Specimens of American poetry* (vol. 2, p. 60). The title is "Verses to a shearwater on the morning after a storm at sea." There is found here the author's love of birds and knowledge of their habits; there is, also, a startling resemblance to Bryant's lines "To a waterfowl," one of the latter's master poems. An example is in this last stanza of Alsop's poem:

Without star or magnet's aid,
Thou thy faithful course dost keep!
Sportive still, still undismay'd,
Lonely wanderer of the deep!

As translator, Richard Alsop left portions of the *Eddas*, and of Italian and Spanish verse; such was *The enchanted lake of the fairy Morgana* (New York, 1806) from the

Orlando innamorata. Although his name does not appear on the title page, he is often chosen as the probable editor of a strange but actual story of adventure, told in the manner of Defoe, *Narrative of the adventures and sufferings of John R. Jewett, only survivor of the crew of the ship Boston, during a captivity of nearly three years among the savages of Nootka Sound* (Middletown, 1815). This was published in the year of Richard Alsop's death.

The domestic life of this "millionaire poet" brought him as much happiness as he found in his studies and writings. Among his friends he was noted for his fertile imagination and playful humor. His marriage to Miss Mary Wyllys Pomeroy of Hartford gave him three children, Frances Marie, Richard, the sixth of that name, and Mary Caroline. His son, Richard, born in Middletown, traveled for business and pleasure to South American ports where he established the firm of Alsop and Company. After an absence of twenty years from this country he returned to Philadelphia where he married and became an honored citizen but he had no children. The widow of the poet married, for her second husband, Samuel W. Dana of Middletown, who was a representative in the state legislature and in congress. If Richard Alsop was ranked among the less distinguished literary lights of his generation he has come into his own today. His broad knowledge and appreciation of modern foreign languages was a trait seldom found in his generation among Americans who were prone to stress the supremacy of their own deeds and words and were unwilling to admit their dependence upon European peoples for their inspiration and examples.

VIII

SUCH an ardent American, self-satisfied as well as loyal to high ideals for his country, and overrated by his contemporaries, was David Humphreys. This group of Hartford Wits was a mutual admiration society; they gave to each other, in printed words, tribute that sounds often more bombastic than effective. Their chosen two for the most fervent praise were John Trumbull and David Humphreys. When Joel Barlow wrote his long poem, *The Columbiad*, he thus extolled these two friends, as writers:

See Trumbull lead the train. His skilful hand
Hurls the keen darts of satire round the land.
Pride, knavery, dulness feel his mortal stings,
And listening virtue triumphs while he sings;
Britain's foil'd sons, victorious now no more,
In guilt retiring from the wasted shore,
Strive their curst cruelties to hide in vain,
The world resounds them in his deathless strain.

.

See Humphreys glorious from the field retire,
Sheathe the glad sword and string the soothing lyre;

.

His country's wrongs, her duties, dangers, praise,
Fire his full soul and animate his lays:
Wisdom and War with equal joy shall own
So fond a votary and so brave a son.

David Humphreys was esteemed as "a favorite son of Connecticut" during his lifetime and for many later years. His virtues and achievements are recorded on his monument, near the entrance to the old cemetery in New Haven, in Latin words chosen by his friend and ardent admirer, John Trumbull. When Frank Landon Hum-

phreys wrote the *Life and times of David Humphreys, soldier, statesman, poet, "Belov'd of Washington"* (2 vols., New York, 1917) he chose a true subtitle, for Humphreys was a trusted friend of the first president.

He was the fourth son of David Humphreys, the minister in Derby, Connecticut. He was born in the old house long associated with memories of his mother, Sarah Riggs Humphreys, in whose honor a chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has been named. Gracious and queenly, she was known as Lady Humphreys. Her fine features and attractive personality, which were portrayed by Gilbert Stuart, she transmitted to her son, David. At Yale College Humphreys was a friend of John Trumbull and Joel Barlow. After graduation he studied law for a brief time, and then, while seeking a place in the army, he taught school, visited camps, and wrote a poem which he dedicated to George Washington. He began his military services as an adjutant in Colonel Jabez Thompson's regiment; then he was aide-de-camp to General Israel Putnam. In due time he was made, first, a major and then a colonel as aide to Washington.

Colonel Humphreys was brave and efficient in war service. Congress later voted him a sword in recognition of his "gallantry" at Yorktown. With his militant qualities was an abiding desire to write poetry. This urge had many expressions and, during his lifetime and after, his verses were read and quoted both in this country and in England. One of the best-known favorites was *A poem on the happiness of America; addressed to the citizens of the United States*. This appeared the same year in both London and Hartford and, in three years, there had been nine editions. He wrote elegies on heroes of the Revolution; in *A poem on the love of country* are some lines of

sincere tribute to General Israel Putnam, lines less strained than are many of his verses:

His body rough with scars, near Gates and Greene,
Unletter'd Putnam's louring brow was seen;
Stern as he stood, none more for woe could feel,
His heart all softness, but his nerves all steel;
In peace a lamb, in fight a lion fierce,
And not a name more honour'd decks my verse.

His biography of Putnam, which was issued, with varying titles, from 1788 to 1834, was completed at Mount Vernon while he was serving as Washington's secretary.

Humphreys must have rejoiced in his selection as secretary of the group of commissioners—Franklin, John Adams, and Jefferson—who were appointed, in 1784, to make treaties of commerce with European nations. For nearly two years he lived abroad, part of the time in London, part in Paris. He came into friendly contacts with foreign statesmen and writers; to his great delight he found that, by many whom he met, he was regarded not alone as a soldier but also as a poet. With pride he learned that his verses, *Address to the armies of the United States of America*, which had been twice printed in New Haven (1780, 1785), was translated into French and issued in Paris, in 1786.

When he returned to Connecticut, after his first sojourn in Europe, he lived part of the time in Derby, with frequent visits to Hartford. He was elected as a member of the state legislature. It was during these years, 1786–1788, that he collaborated with his friends and probably gave to them the original incentive to write the *Anarchiad*. With Trumbull, Barlow, and Hopkins he was on intimate terms, a sharer in their literary and social interests.

After serving as the first private secretary to Washington as president, Humphreys spent nearly twelve years,

from 1790 to 1802, in Europe on diplomatic missions, including service as the minister of the United States at the courts of Lisbon and Madrid. It was at the legation in Madrid, on July 4, 1800, that he delivered his poem, often printed and extolled, *On the death of General Washington*. When a second edition of his *Miscellaneous works* was published, in 1804, he dedicated the book to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who had been "an intimate friend in Paris," during his first European sojourn.

In spite of his vanity (which was surely excusable in view of these attentions from foreign associates) and although he had married an English lady and indulged in many luxuries that were more in keeping with court life than provincial America, Humphreys was an ardent patriot in acts and words. After the War of 1812 was declared he organized a company of Veteran Volunteers and was commissioned brigadier general by the governor of Connecticut. He rejoiced in that rank and used it in later writings like *The Yankey in England: a drama in five acts*. There is no date nor place on the copy in the Boston Athenaeum but the Preface is signed "D. Humphreys, Humphreysville, Sept. 1, 1815." The plot is fantastic and melodramatic, based upon the hidden identity and romantic adventures of two children, son and daughter, respectively, of "two American young men who had been educated at the same college in America." The hero, an impoverished sailor and then "a handy man" for Mr. Newman ("controller of the Household in Count St. Luc's family") speaks Yankee dialect and mingles cunning with credulity. This play was "presented" after the annual examination of the school and institutions belonging to the Humphreysville Manufacturing Company, which was "fathered" by Humphreys; he took a part in the play.

Not all Englishmen whom he met were favorably

impressed by the "literary genius" of Humphreys. Robert Southey had met the American minister at Lisbon and he gave his impressions in a letter to a friend. Southey recorded that Humphreys loaned to him Timothy Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan*; he added, "I had heard of it, and long wished to read it, in vain; but now the American Minister (a good-natured man, whose poetry is worse than anything except his criticism) has lent me the book. There certainly is some merit in the poem; but when Colonel Humphreys speaks of it, he will not allow me to put in a word in defense of John Milton."

When his diplomatic services were over, Humphreys returned to Connecticut to his native town, with desire and resources to improve industrial conditions. While he was at Lisbon, he had written a *Poem on the industry of the United States of America* which was published in Philadelphia in 1794. In 1802 he brought from Spain one hundred merino sheep as a part of his equipment for making woolen cloth. He opened some mills near Derby on land which he had purchased. The settlement, which was called Chusetown at first and later was renamed Humphreysville, is now a part of Seymour. There he had a fulling mill, a cotton mill, and a paper mill, giving employment to several hundreds. At the age of forty-five he had married the daughter of an English banker who was helpful in these ventures. From England Humphreys secured superintendents who knew the business of weaving and finishing the goods that soon became popular with Jefferson and other men of political influence.

Combined with his patriotic motives for the encouragement of American industry, he united wise and productive efforts for social betterment. Some of his apprentices came from institutions, in New York, for orphans and neglected boys. He arranged for them recreation rooms, a library, and instruction in military drill; he wrote plays

and encouraged any ability that he found in music or writing. In his neighbors, who were often blessed by his care and bounty, he could visualize that humble, happy American whom he pictured in his *Poem on the happiness of America*:

The cattle fed—the fuel pil’d within—
At setting day the blissful hours begin:
’Tis then, sole owner of his little cot,
The farmer feels his independent lot;
Hears with the crackling blaze that lights the wall,
The voice of gladness and of nature call,
Beholds his children play, their mother smile,
And tastes with them the fruit of summer’s toil.

IX

JOEL BARLOW, like his friend, David Humphreys, wrote lines of genuine sentiment and faithful pictures of “the American scene,” as well as long, ambitious poems of inferior worth. Both these men lived abroad for many years, giving diplomatic service to their country and meeting foreign potentates and writers. Humphreys returned to pass his last days of usefulness and influence in his native state but Barlow’s home, on his return from Europe in 1807, after an absence of seventeen years, was in Washington. After 1788, therefore, he seldom had intimate contacts with his Connecticut friends of earlier days; by some of them he was later misjudged and severely criticized.

The life story of Joel Barlow is one of the most picturesque in American literary history. It has never been adequately told nor has full use been made of the mass of letters and papers that remain as his own record, though a beginning has been made by Theodore Albert Zunder, in *The early days of Joel Barlow* (New Haven, 1934).

This is a recital of the incidents of his life from 1754 to 1787, the year in which his *Vision of Columbus* was first issued. In both his political views and his writings, Joel Barlow was paradoxical. At certain periods he was overpraised by his contemporaries; at other times, he was scorned and condemned. Writing in the 1880's, Edmund Clarence Stedman said, "The author of *The Columbiad* and *Hasty Pudding* was a man of might in his day, and will not pass out of literature or history." Donald Grant Mitchell concluded a sympathetic account of his career with the declaration that "It was full of grit—full of Yankee capacity for bargainings—full of ambitions; there were little poetic up-lifts in it, but none of them very high."

Redding, Connecticut, was the birthplace of Joel Barlow in 1754. His ancestors were of good farmer stock, men of industry and vision. Upon this youth there came the potent influence of his minister and tutor, Nathaniel Bartlett, a Yale graduate, who recognized ability of unusual promise in his pupil. This parson-pedagogue (who was to remain in the same parish for fifty-seven years) persuaded the father of Joel Barlow to send him to Moor's Indian Charity School in Hanover, New Hampshire, where the terms were "easy" for Indian students and others who might become ministers or missionaries. Here the youth "did chores" and prepared for Dartmouth. After a few months at that college, which then had about one hundred students, he transferred to Yale where he graduated in the class of 1778.

Barlow had a jovial, keen nature and a deep affection for his family, especially for his mother who became a widow while he was in Hanover. To Acting President Naphtali Daggett of Yale he brought a letter from President Eleazar Wheelock of Dartmouth, commending

Barlow for "sober regular and good Behaviour" which had so recommended him "to universal Esteem that we Should be quite unwilling to part with him." At Yale, where he was elected to Brothers in Unity, he made devoted friends, among them Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Noah Webster, and Uriah Tracy. A Yale tutor, Joseph Buckminster, inspired Barlow to study literature and to write and declaim in English and Latin. His mother died in 1775 but sufficient funds were left to Joel so that he could complete his college course. During his later years at Yale he began to "pay visits" to the home of one of the tutors, Abraham Baldwin, where he met the sister, Ruth Baldwin, who was to become his devoted and stimulating wife. They were married January 26, 1781, but this was "a secret" for a year.

Two ambitions dominated Barlow in college and in the years that followed—a desire to excel in law and in literature. The Revolution delayed the fruition of both professions. Like other youths of his time and college, Joel Barlow was eager to get into service. He stressed, as evidence of his fitness for a position as chaplain, both his brief training as a minister and his "gift of eloquence," and he secured an appointment in General Poor's brigade from Massachusetts. He was present at the execution of Major André. Of this English soldier-spy, Barlow wrote: "A politer Gentleman or a greater character of his age, perhaps is not alive With the Appearance of Philosophy & heroism he observed that he was buoyed above the fear of Death by a consciousness, that every action of his had been honorable, that in a few minutes he should be out of all pleasure or pain." The next day, a Sabbath, Barlow preached "a flaming political sermon occasioned by the treachery of Arnold."

The war over, Barlow studied law and wrote steadily

on his poem which was to bear the title of *The vision of Columbus*. In revising some of the 4,700 lines he was aided by Noah Webster, by David Humphreys, and by Richard Alsop, as letters testify. Eight hundred subscribers were found for this long poem which was published, in 1787, by Hudson & Goodwin of Hartford. It passed into four editions. He had earlier received a commission from the general association of ministers of Connecticut to edit a revised edition of Watts's *Psalms* (Hartford, 1785). Here again, he was given suggestions by his Hartford friends, Trumbull and Alsop. Barlow rewrote Psalm CXXXVII, "polished many others into an elegant version," and added a few hymns. During these years in Hartford he was editing the *American Mercury* and conducting a bookstore in partnership with Elisha Babcock.

Into his life, hampered by lack of money and of broad opportunities to use his knowledge of law and of the French language, came an unexpected chance to travel and to test his business abilities; should he succeed he would win both wealth and renown. He was offered the foreign agency for the Scioto Land Company, an auxiliary of the Ohio Land Company of which Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, both Revolutionary soldiers of rank, were leading promoters. The inside story of the Scioto Land Company, where the responsibility should rest for its false promises and failure, has been told with variations. How far congress was the aggressor, how far it was the victim, is a mooted question. When "the bubble burst" and the victims who had been allured by the promises of Barlow, as well as by other promoters, found that they lacked titles, Joel Barlow was attacked in this country and abroad. In recent years, however, belief has grown that this Connecticut writer was not deliberately deceitful, that he was not fully informed

about the enterprise. He never received his promised returns. The fortune which was gained by him in late years, in France, was due largely to the purchase, at an opportune time, of securities in French business, in a hotel and a ship, and in other affairs managed partly by his thrifty, well-informed wife. The French Revolution interfered with the Land Company but it gave stimulus to Barlow in other ways. In a letter to his wife who was then staying with her brother, Dudley, at Greenfield Hill, he wrote from Paris, July 28, 1789:

My dearest love,

The sudden and glorious revolution that has taken place in Paris within the last fortnight has prevented my completing the business which I had promised myself should be done before now It is really no small satisfaction to me to have seen two complete revolutions in favor of liberty Everything now is quiet at Paris. I look upon affairs of this nation to be on the point of being settled on the most rational and lasting foundation.⁴

The limits of this study must focus attention upon Joel Barlow, the writer, rather than upon the diplomat and political philosopher but the aspects of his life were fully blended. Like all the Hartford Wits, he believed that he would "live as a poet." Some of his most significant writings, however, were in prose. One of the latter was *Advice to the privileged orders in the several states of Europe*, which was quoted and denounced by friends of Burke and praised by Fox. A poem, *The conspiracy of kings*, added to this unpopularity with many English people who placed his name beside that of the liberal, Thomas Paine, whose *Rights of man* had been acclaimed by Barlow. Consequently, he returned from England to France where he was given citizenship and

⁴Letter in Pequot Library, Southport, Connecticut; used by permission.

was sent on a political mission to Chambéry, the capital of Savoy. It was while he was on this commission that he found, to his surprise one evening at supper, at a rural inn in Savoy, in January, 1793, Indian meal pudding, or polenta, on the menu. Impelled by a mood of nostalgia and memories of his boyhood, he wrote the stanzas of *Hasty pudding* (New Haven, 1796) which, in the judgment of many critics, will survive all his other writings. The poem, dedicated to Mrs. George Washington, was published in many places and stemmed the tide of censure of Barlow as a renegade.

In 1795, he was appointed as United States consul to Algiers, where he lived amid dangers of all kinds. He negotiated affairs so well that many American prisoners of Barbary pirates were released. At that time, while he was separated from wife and friends and threatened by the black plague, he wrote to his wife a letter, to be opened if he should die, which is noble and poetic in text and sentiments. After seventeen years in Europe he returned to acquire and furnish a mansion at Rock Creek, near Washington, which he called Kalorama, or Fair View. He hoped to develop several projects for American betterment, in cultural and practical ways. Robert Fulton, inventor and designer, had been a housemate of Barlow in Paris; Barlow was deeply interested in his projects and Fulton's name is blazoned in the unfinished and unpublished poem, "The canal."⁵ Fulton made twelve illustrations for the complete edition of Barlow's *Columbiad*, in ten books, dedicated to him (Philadelphia, 1807). Until 1825 reprints of this long, effusive poem proved its favor among his contemporaries, but it is wearisome reading today. In 1811 there came to Joel Barlow an

⁵Among the Barlow Papers in the Pequot Library, Southport, Connecticut.

unexpected call to reënter the diplomatic service. He was to negotiate for the United States a treaty with Napoleon. On arrival at Paris, Barlow found Napoleon busy with his Russian campaign, but finally he was summoned to the headquarters at Vilna for conference. The severe weather and discomforts of the retreat brought on a pulmonary attack and Barlow died at a little Polish village near Cracow. On the vault at Kalorama where lie buried his wife, who lived until 1818, and her brother, Senator Abraham Baldwin, is the memorial inscription:

JOEL BARLOW
PATRIOT, POET, STATESMAN AND PHILOSOPHER
LIES BURIED
AT ZARNAWICA IN POLAND
WHERE HE DIED, 24TH DEC. 1812
AGED 58 YEARS AND 9 MONTHS

X

THE careers and writings of the Hartford Wits afford interesting and valuable studies in literary history. They are worthy of remembrance and honor, collectively and individually. They took their literary efforts seriously, though it is easy for the flippant or cynical reader of the twentieth century to ridicule their writings. In their time, however, as Professor Henry A. Beers has said, they did form "a school . . . they had in common certain definite, coherent and conscious aims." In recognition of what they aspired to do and of what they left as memorials, true words have been written by such a critic of influence as Vernon Louis Parrington who observed: "As poetry, these old satires may seem feeble enough but as historical documents they are eloquent." Another writer

n the *Cambridge history of American literature* concluded that "the work of the Hartford Wits in fostering poetry in a period of political and social struggle and change deserves grateful recognition from the student of American literature." All honor, then, to the Hartford Wits, a pioneer group, whose patriotic zeal and literary impulses found such varied self-expression, whose names are high on the roll of Connecticut's men of scholarly minds, cultural influence, and public service!

Bibliographical Note

THE author has published an earlier study of the Hartford Wits in *Heralds of American literature* (Chicago, 1907). Accounts of the Hartford Wits, of varying length and value, have appeared in the histories of American literature. There are also essays and special studies on them collectively and individually, and biographies of Trumbull, Humphreys, and Barlow.

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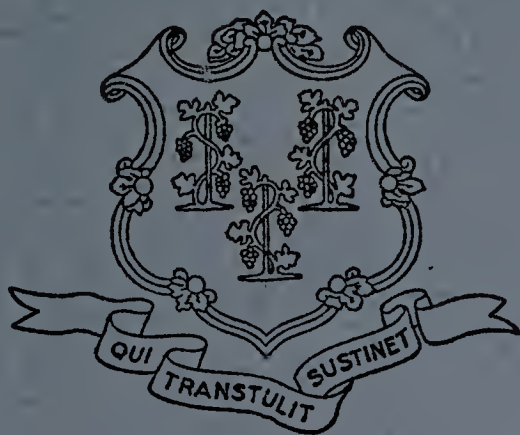
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*The Achievement of Religious Liberty
in Connecticut*

PAUL WAKEMAN COONS

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*The Achievement of Religious Liberty
in Connecticut*

PAUL WAKEMAN COONS

I

IN the same year that Roger Williams planted the settlement of Providence at the head of Narragansett bay, Thomas Hooker and his congregation established themselves in Connecticut. Religious liberty was from the outset provided for in Rhode Island: church and state were separated and freedom of conscience was made unconditional. The progress of Puritan Connecticut toward that goal was uncertain and halting, was marked now by advances, now by retrogressions. Nearly two centuries were required to achieve full liberty.

The early seventeenth-century Puritan reflected the religious fervor of the age in holding the conviction that he was God's chosen custodian of religious truth and morality. Hence, it is not surprising that the authors of the Fundamental Orders dedicated the infant colony of Connecticut to "decent Gouvernment established according to God" and contracted to "mayntayne and presearue the liberty and purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus

which we now professe, as also the disciplyne of the Churches which according to the truth of the said gospell is now practised amongst vs." In that day the attainment of such objectives usually involved suppression of heresy.

The early years of the colony's history, however, were comparatively free from the persecuting spirit. The Fundamental Orders embodied two principles potentially favorable to the growth of leniency in dealing with religious dissent. The first was that government should be by consent of the governed, that rulers should be responsible and responsive to the will of the electorate. Though, in the minds of the fathers of the Orders, this did not mean democracy as the term is used today, it did establish a principle which was to be invoked frequently when any portion of the population desired a widening of religious privilege. The second was the separation of civil privilege from church membership, except in the case of the governor, who was to be a member of an approved congregation. Thus a principle was established which implied, at least, that loyalty to the state did not entail loyalty to the established church.

Other tendencies toward reasonableness during the early years were the general approbation of the judicious and temperate views of Hooker and the spirit of freedom and individualism characteristic of a pioneer settlement. For more than a century, the homogeneity of the population excluded many of the causes for religious trouble. After 1660, the magistrates displayed a high degree of political shrewdness in avoiding intervention of the English authorities, by discreet treatment of persons holding dissenting opinions. So, while the avowed intentions of Connecticut's founders to maintain the purity of the Puritan faith unquestionably narrowed their outlook,

several conditions, prevailing partly by design and partly by accident, led to the adoption of a religious policy in which the prospect for freedom of conscience, if not bright, was not hopelessly dim.

State guardianship of the churches was the keynote of the policy of the founders. They looked upon the state as the secular arm of the church, which it was their duty to protect and encourage, in order that citizens might be trained in civic responsibility and moral uprightness. Such an alliance between the government and the churches appeared to them essential, in a well-ordered community, to insure against the dangers of a theocracy on the one hand and of religious anarchy on the other. Between 1644 and 1657, the establishment of the Congregational churches was confirmed by legislation, and steps were taken to assure them financial security and the full support of the government. The maintenance of a healthy financial situation in the churches of a pioneer settlement was no small problem: to admit the voluntary principle or to permit the organization of new churches, when a community had difficulty in supporting one with befitting dignity, hardly seemed wise. Consequently, following a recommendation of the New England Confederation, the general court ordered the salaries of ministers guaranteed by magisterial assessment and collection wherever necessary. Furthermore, no church was to be organized or to engage in religious activity without the consent and approval of the legislature. Thus the government became moderator of ecclesiastical affairs: the secular power stood ready to uphold the dignity and purity of the faith, to assure the collection of church taxes, to promote the settlement of church disputes, and in general to advance religious well-being within the jurisdiction.

The paternalistic attitude of the government was note-

worthy for the absence of avowed hostility to other forms of religion beside the Congregational. This was only in part due to the absence of other forms, for true bigotry would probably have decreed their exclusion from the outset. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that the authorities were not intended to employ inquisitors like those who were serving the régimes of Laud in England and of the Puritans in Massachusetts, nor did they attempt to do so.

In 1648 delegates from Connecticut assembled at Cambridge, with others from the New England Confederation, to draw up a standard to be used by all the churches for the ordering of their doctrine, polity, and discipline. The Cambridge Platform, as it was known, recognized the independence of local churches from any ecclesiastical domination, provided that offenders in matters ecclesiastical were to suffer only through the deprivation of church—not civil—rights, and declared that church taxes were to be collected, if necessary, by the magistrates. It was furthermore decided that the civil authorities were not to compel church membership, but were to enforce godliness and church decrees and to suppress heresy. At the time, the formulation of the platform did little beside revealing the tendencies of Connecticut toward a policy more liberal than that of either Massachusetts or New Haven. A century later, the principle embodied in the Cambridge Platform, that every church had the right to freedom from outside interference, was to be invoked by opponents of the Saybrook Platform in a crucial era of Connecticut's religious history.¹

The Code of 1650 contained several laws calculated to restrain the irreligious, to safeguard the dignity and financial security of the clergy, and to assert the authority

¹ See below, pp. 13-22.

of the general court over matters affecting the welfare of the churches. Any person convicted of slandering God's word, or its preacher, was to be reprimanded openly for the first offense, and for the second was either to pay a fine of five pounds or to stand in public view on lecture day bearing the inscription, "An Open and Obstinate Contemner of God's Holy Ordinances." Church attendance was made compulsory—the penalty for each absence being five shillings. The basic conceptions, that it was the duty of the government to be the protector of the moral and social order and that church officials should not intermeddle in civil matters, could hardly be more clearly stated than in the following enactment:

Forasmuch as the peace and prosperity of Churches and members thereof, as well as Ciuill rights and Libberties are carefully to bee maintained,—It is ordered by this Courte and decreed, that the Civill Authority heere established hath power and libberty to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christe bee obserued in euery Church according to his word; as allso to deale with any Church member in a way of Ciuill [justice], notwithstanding any Church relation, office or interest, so it bee done in a Ciuill and not in an Ecclesiasticall way: nor shall any Church censure degrade or depose any man from any Civill dignitie, office or authority hee shall haue in the Commonwealth.

The religious life of the colony was untroubled for the first twenty years. Then, about 1656, the Quaker heresy pushed its way into New England. The Puritan authorities of that day viewed Quakers in approximately the same light that capitalist governments view communists today—namely, as a menace to the social order. Their attitude becomes understandable when it is recalled that Quakers at the time occasionally sought to give utterance to the Spirit's promptings by going about naked, by rude conduct in church services, or, more frequently, by de-

nouncing other faiths as instruments of Satan. Their refusal to take oaths or pay respect to magistrates seemed to render them politically dangerous. They were feared and persecuted because their principles and antics seemed to strike at the foundations of both state and church.

The Connecticut authorities never went so far as to hang Quakers, but there was considerable legislative furor and popular agitation against the heresy in 1656 and 1657. The remarkable thing about the laws against them was that not the Quakers but the town officials and individuals who entertained them were to suffer if the "notorious Heretiques" were not removed within fourteen days. In 1658 two of their number, Rous and Cope-land, were admonished by the court not to violate the law, and to continue on to Rhode Island. Rous later declared that "among all the colonies, found we not moderation as this; most of the magistrates being more noble than those of the others." Indeed, the general court seemed to be anxious to rid itself of responsibility for rooting out the Quakers, for it presently assigned the task to the discretion of the local magistrates.

In 1675, at the beginning of King Philip's War, the court relaxed the laws against Quakers in order to keep in the good graces of both the Quakers and the Rhode Island government, each of whom had much influence among the Indians. Although still forbidden to hold assemblies, Quakers were to be excused from the penalties for absence from church. A quarter of a century later, when the activities of Anglicans and Baptists began to worry the Congregationalists, fear for the safety of the established church led to a revival of the persecuting spirit, which vented itself on Quakers as well as other dissenters. The matter was brought to the attention of the authorities in England, who in 1705 annulled the

Connecticut laws of 1656, 1657, and 1658. Whether from a feeling that the laws were needlessly severe—the Quakers numbered only a handful—or merely from politic motives, the court seconded the annulment by prompt repeal of the acts.

The beginning of the Quaker troubles coincided with an outstanding instance of the Connecticut magistrates' concern for the welfare of the churches. Owing to the fact that the children of the first settlers often found themselves unable to testify to an experience of conversion, church membership in the years just preceding 1656 had been falling off at an alarming rate. Moreover, since church rules permitted only the children of converted persons to receive baptism, there was further cause for anxiety. The wide extent of these conditions throughout the Puritan colonies led to the calling of a synod in Boston in 1656 to devise a remedy. The result of the deliberations was the Half Way Covenant, by which the right of baptism was to be extended to children of unconverted but baptized persons, and the right of admission to the church to such children upon public profession of faith. Regretful though it was that the decline of religious experience had reached such a pass as to make these measures necessary, the general court of Connecticut approved the plan for the established churches.

Dissension thereupon broke out in numerous churches between factions favoring and opposing the covenant. The task of reconciling the two sides was almost more than the tact and patience of the court could accomplish. In the Hartford church, the question of accepting the covenant fanned the fires of faction to such an extent that part of the church threatened to withdraw. The court met the threat in 1658 with a law that no church could be formed without its consent and the approval of adjacent

churches. A decade later the problem in this church was to evoke a law of distinct significance in Connecticut's progress toward religious liberty. Meantime Charles II granted a charter which enabled Connecticut to absorb New Haven.

II

IN the hands of John Davenport and his company, New Haven represented a strenuous attempt to unite church and state, and to maintain the Puritan faith uncorrupted. The Fundamental Agreement, the town compact of 1639, made the Word of God the only rule in government, declared that the function of the civil authorities was to serve the church, and specified that only church members were eligible to citizenship. Whereas in Connecticut the churches were by law dependent upon the state, the founders of New Haven legislated to effect the dependence of the civil power on the will of church members.

New Haven's religious policy was, however, essentially like that of the Hartford government. The primary duties of the general court were to maintain the purity of religion, to suppress corruption, and to make known and establish God's laws, which were basically assumed to be the Mosaic code. The organization of any church was contingent upon the approval of the magistrates. From the beginning, church attendance was compulsory, with a five-shilling fine for each absence. Severe punishments were to be meted out to "Contemners" of the clergy, to blasphemers, and to heretics. All were enjoined to contribute to the support of the ministry, if not willingly, then by magisterial taxation. In view of the central purpose of the founders to erect a Puritan commonwealth, in which heresy could not break through and corrupt the faith, it is somewhat surprising to find a law

of 1643 recognizing the futility of trying to force belief against one's conscience. The sequel to this clause was more in tune with the spirit of its authors. If any caused the faithful to wander from the fold by his unorthodox notions, then fine, banishment, or other punishment was to follow.

Quaker disturbances called forth between 1656 and 1658 a series of legal anathemas with punishments, ranging from the mere guarding of Quakers coming on business to a fifty-pound fine for bringing a heretic into the colony. Quakers who might offend four times by communicating with citizens were to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron. A few unfortunates suffered under these laws.

The history of the colony was too brief to reveal how these principles might have been applied in the course of years. That the founders were filled with high seriousness there can be no doubt. In 1665 the union of New Haven with Connecticut strengthened such intolerant tendencies as may have existed in the Hartford jurisdiction.

III

THE royal charter, the constitutional basis for the government of Connecticut for more than a century and a half, placed the control of religious matters entirely in the hands of the magistrates who were granted all power

... for the directing, ruleing and disposeing of all other matters and things whereby our said People Inhabitants there may bee soe religiously peaceably and civilly Governed as their good life and orderly Conversacion may wynn and invite the Natives of the Country to the knowledge and obedience of the onely true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith which in our Royall intencions and the Adventurers free profession is the only and principall end of this Plantacion.

In view of this absence of explicit regulation of ecclesiastical matters, the church establishment, together with all the laws to enforce godliness and to maintain the favored position of the Congregational churches remained untouched.

In 1664, two years after the grant of the charter, commissioners of the crown visited Connecticut and laid before the general court the proposition that all peaceable persons, though of dissenting opinions, be allowed to enjoy liberty of conscience and worship. The court had no difficulty in assuring the commissioners that the colony already conformed. The reply was, "... we know not of any one, that hath bin troubled by us for attending his conscience, provided he hath not disturbed the publique." The commissioners made no reference to the Anglican service or to the prayer book, both matters of unpleasantness when they had visited Massachusetts. Nor did they question the right of the general court to levy a tax for the maintenance of the clergy. Their silence on these questions is largely explained by the fact that there were so few Anglicans in Connecticut that no church was formed until 1723. Up to 1664, no complaint of mistreatment of them had reached the home government.

The problem of dealing with a powerful sentiment of dissatisfaction with the established order first confronted the general court in 1664. As noted before, the Half Way Covenant had brewed discontent and strife in the Hartford church and in others. The faction in the Hartford church desiring the covenant petitioned the court for a law to permit a division in the church and exemption of those withdrawing from the regular rates. A lengthy discussion followed, during which the court asked all the churches to consider the question in a tem-

perate spirit, and practically ordered the acceptance of the covenant. Finally, in 1669, provision was made for the toleration of peaceable and pious dissenters from the covenant. The court, after reiterating its approval of the way hitherto approved, added:

... yet forasmuch as sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us are otherwise perswaded, (whose wellfare and peaceable sattisfaction we desire to accomadate,) This Court doth declare that all such persons being allso approued according to lawe as orthodox and sownd in the fundamentalls of Christian religion may haue allowance of their perswasion and profession in church wayes or assemblies without disturbance.

This is usually considered the first move toward religious liberty in Connecticut. The concession was the first breach in the wall of Congregational uniformity. As such, it deserves emphasis. But it is to be observed that toleration had been granted only to those orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of the Christian religion. Moreover, all citizens were still subject to ministerial taxes, and to fines for the neglect of the same or for failure to attend religious services.

The authorities certainly had no thought of tolerating dissenters who might weaken the established church, as their treatment of the Rogerenes a decade after the law of 1669 showed. Though few in number, these fanatics, whose ideas seem to have originated in Rhode Island, refused to take an oath, opposed taxes for the clergy, profaned the Sabbath, and vehemently delivered public insults to magistrate and clergyman alike. Imprisonment and fines chilled their ardor, and it was not until forty years later that much attention was paid to them. Eventually, the authorities learned that to ignore them was as effective as any method to render them harmless.

Warfare and a growing indifference to religion marked the closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. Strong, dominant, and protected by the state, Congregationalism became lax in matters of faith and morals. The general assembly appeared more concerned over the decay of religion than the ministers, and frequently tried to arrest the drift of the times. Especially noteworthy was the report on the state of religion, called for by the general assembly in 1714. The report listed as common evils the neglect of public worship and contempt of authority, both ecclesiastical and civil. The assembly thereupon ordered the local magistrates to tighten the enforcement of the laws pertaining to religious observances.

The general assembly took two actions in 1708 which showed, on the one hand, how political adroitness often led to a widening of religious privilege, and, on the other, how ready the assembly stood to favor the established churches, even at the expense of liberty.

The first was the Toleration Act. Anglicans had been working to establish a church at Stratford. One of their clergymen had preached and baptized persons there and at Fairfield. Though no violent persecution had occurred, only protests, the situation was full of dynamite, for any outbreak of popular feelings against the Anglicans might bring down on Connecticut the full force of royal displeasure—possibly the annulment of the charter. Complaints had already reached the home government of the coldness with which Anglicans had been received. With these factors in mind, and with the English Toleration Act of 1689 before it as an example, the general assembly passed a measure “for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministrie established by the antient laws of this government.”

Dissenters were given permission to form separate churches, provided that they entered their names in the county court of their residence. They were still bound, however, to pay the tax for the support of the established clergy. Thus, the government coupled a practical tolerance with a determination not to weaken or undermine the established church.

The second event of 1708, the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, looked toward a strengthening of the ecclesiastical control of the churches. The platform and its adoption by the general assembly effected a reorganization on a presbyterial basis of such Congregational churches as assented. In place of the former independence and autonomy of each church, as provided for in the Cambridge Platform of 1648, control of polity was now handed over to associations and consociations. Since a large proportion of the churches entered into the scheme, the result was a surrender of the liberty heretofore enjoyed by individual churches. The platform fettered liberty within the establishment for nearly eighty years, especially after 1743, when the platform was made obligatory on all Congregational churches. Dissenting societies were not affected, as their right to organize according to the Toleration Act was reaffirmed in a proviso attached to the platform.

The increase of Anglicans in the years after 1708, the defection of Rector Cutler of Yale and four members of the New Haven association to the Anglican church in 1722, and the organization of an Anglican parish at Stratford in 1723, naturally displeased Congregationalists in general and the authorities in particular.² Nevertheless, petitions against church taxes from Anglicans,

²See O. S. Seymour, *Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* (no. XXX in this series).

Baptists, and Quakers, and the fear that such complaints might reach the British authorities, led the general assembly to modify the established policy. A law of 1727 permitted an Anglican society within the bounds of a Congregational parish to receive the church taxes paid by its own communicants. If the taxes thus collected were not sufficient, the society was given power to levy and collect higher rates. Moreover, Anglicans who contributed the tax to the support of their own church were to be excused from taxes for the building of Congregational churches. There was an element of the ironic in this law, for the government was thereby bound to enforce the collection of rates for the Anglican clergy.

Two years later, the same privileges were extended to Baptists and Quakers. Neither group numbered more than a handful—after twenty-five years of activity the Baptists had formed only two churches, while the Quakers were without an organized society—and the authorities wisely calculated that the extension of the privilege could do no harm and might possibly avoid complaints in the future. By the laws of 1727 and 1729, Connecticut took long strides toward the still distant goal of full religious freedom.

IV

THE customary calm demeanor of the magistrates suffered a rude shock from the Great Awakening,³ the series of religious revivals that reached their height from 1740 to 1742. The preachers of the Awakening, led by Jonathan Edwards, scandalized the supporters of the stately and formal religion of the day. They embarrassed the

³See M. H. Mitchell, *The Great Awakening and other revivals in the religious life of Connecticut* (no. XXVI in this series).

regular clergy by their unorthodox and violent appeals to emotion. They frequently intruded into a parish without permission, and took matters out of the hands of the established clergyman. Soon the colony was divided into warring factions, Old Lights and New Lights, as the enemies and friends of the movement were called. Each party indignantly vilified the other. To the New Lights, their opponents were upholders of a cold, lifeless religion; to the defenders of the old order, the preachers of the Awakening were unreasoning fanatics, a menace to the social and moral order.

As might be expected, the general assembly did not sit idly by. In 1742, "an Act for regulating Abuses" was passed to suppress the mounting disorders. No support was to be given a minister who intruded into the parish of another. If an unordained person preached in the parish of a settled clergyman, he was to be fined one hundred pounds. Any outsider guilty of offense was to be expelled from the colony.

The next year the court tried to suppress the New Lights by a law which not only intensified the spirit of revolt among them, but also roused the ire of the churches outside the establishment. The Toleration Act of 1708 was repealed and the organization of dissenting churches was allowed only by permission of the general assembly. Only non-Congregational societies were eligible for such organization. The law thus made the Saybrook Platform mandatory upon all Congregational churches, and dashed the hopes of New Lights who contemplated organization on the principle of the Cambridge Platform. Dissenters were irritated because, instead of being allowed to secure permission to organize from their county court, they now had to appear before the general assembly to qualify and secure permission. Furthermore,

whereas the law of 1708 had made organization a right, it was now to be a favor granted or withheld, according to the assembly's discretion. The law was harsher in sound than in its effect upon the dissenters. The formation of Anglican and Baptist churches continued, and it is to be remembered that Congregational churches also had to comply with these measures. Incidentally, this law contained the first legislative discrimination between Roman Catholic and Protestant in the clause permitting only Protestant dissenters to organize.

The ruffled conduct of the authorities was but one indication that the Great Awakening had stirred the religious life of the colony to the depths. Forces of great moment had been set in motion. The unity of Congregationalism was broken. The schism between Old Lights and New Lights started a strong movement within the established church for release from the limitations and obligations imposed by the Saybrook Platform. The Separates or Separatists, as those seeking release were called, organized churches in defiance of the law. Despite persecution and almost crushing tax burdens, about thirty Separate churches sprang into existence, chiefly in New London and Windham counties, during the ten or fifteen years following the Awakening. For about thirty years, they remained a source of annoying opposition to the establishment. Many of these societies and many individual Separatists later went over to the Baptist ranks, while others were reconciled to the established church.

While orthodox Congregationalism was thus being weakened and the Baptists were receiving new recruits, the Anglican churches made capital of the prevailing confusion, and by their composure and stately ceremonies gained many converts among those repelled by the emotional excesses of the revival. No fewer than five

new Baptist and eight new Anglican societies were organized in the decade following the Awakening. The augury for the future of the establishment was ominous, for every gain made by the churches outside the fold brought nearer the dawn of religious liberty and the severance of the ties that bound church and state together.

For the moment the Separates bore the brunt of magisterial wrath. The authorities might permit Anglicans or Baptists or Quakers to organize churches, but they beheld with dread the extension of the same privilege to Congregationalists who wished to withdraw from the establishment. The Old Lights resolved to use their authority to enforce such penalties as the statutes imposed. Separatist families frequently had their estates levied upon because of their refusal to pay taxes for the established church. The sons of a Separate minister were expelled from Yale. Petitions to the court for relief from the deprivation of liberty "tolerated by the King"—one in 1753 bore the signatures of twenty Separatist churches and over one thousand persons—were coolly ignored.

The period of repression was comparatively brief, for the growth of a sentiment unfavorable to harsh measures toward dissenters led to the omission of the persecuting acts of 1742 and 1743 from the revision of the laws in 1750. The revision also reinstated the law of 1708 governing the organization of dissenters. Furthermore, the awareness of the general assembly that the colony would suffer politically if the British authorities became displeased was a significant reason for moderation. When the Baptists and Separatists turned in 1756 to England with a long tale of persecution, the danger of annulment of the charter again loomed. Rather than risk that, the deputation to England did not press their grievances

further than to obtain a censure of the colonial assembly by a parliamentary committee. The Connecticut magistrates, however, had learned a lesson. Thereafter they shrewdly toned down their methods, and in the years following even Separates found it not impossible to secure special exemptions from church rates. Nevertheless, the antagonism rankling in the breasts of the Old Light faction was apparent. That Separates and dissenters had before them a prolonged struggle to abrogate the Saybrook Platform and to secure equality and freedom was even clearer.

V

THE second half of the eighteenth century saw the weakening of conservative Congregationalism and the steady increase in strength of a sentiment favoring leniency toward dissenters. The spirit of the times favored the Separates and dissenters and in the years just preceding, during, and after the Revolution, they were able to make notable advances toward their great objective—full religious liberty. The Puritan spirit was on the decline, the spirit of secularism was in the ascendant. In such an era the champions of liberty found their enemies weaker and their own strength greater.

The decline of the Puritan spirit and of its persecuting tendency was none the less real though gradual. The French wars, culminating in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), brought laxity in religious interest and lowered standards of morality. Many a Connecticut lad returned from the wars to find himself strangely indifferent to spiritual matters, and with an outlook distinctly altered by his contacts with freethinkers among the British and French soldiers. Military and political questions became the staple of conversation and even the

pulpit reflected the secular spirit in the new emphasis placed upon the topics of the day. The appearance of newspapers during the war helped to shift interest to nontheological affairs.

Political liberalism contributed its share to the new secularism and, indirectly, to the movement for religious liberty. The natural rights theory of John Locke had already permeated American society, and intellectuals were beginning to come under the influence of the French philosophers with their theories of the equality of man and of the folly of persecution for religious belief. The Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary War were presently to lend strength to the proposition that all men are entitled to equal rights. Naturally, the enemies of the church-state system, not only in Connecticut but throughout the colonies where such a system prevailed, were quick to point out that the new idealism applied in the religious realm as well as in the political.

Furthermore, the political controversy of the decades prior to and during the Revolution aggravated the fear of strong government and supported the idea that that government is best which governs least. That the increase of these sentiments weakened popular faith in the wisdom of a state church can hardly be gainsaid. The champions of liberty were not slow to demonstrate that such a church had all too often been an instrument of tyranny.

Several other circumstances placed Baptists and Separates in a position of distinct advantage in arguing their cause. The unsettled times, the rise of a rational and scientific spirit, the progress of Arian and Arminian views, and the consequent weakening of dogmatic Calvinism, all helped to diffuse tolerance of varying viewpoints and to create an atmosphere in which criti-

cism of the church-state system would find a more receptive audience.⁴

Baptists and Separatists, moreover, were able to win a large measure of public respect by making common cause with the established church against the project of an American episcopate, and against British encroachments both before and during the Revolution. The long-mooted project of an American episcopate came nearer to realization in the decade of the 'sixties than ever before, and was viewed by the Puritan colonies as a menace to their religion as well as a part of a larger design to reduce the colonies to British control. At the same time, the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, and other measures caused Puritan New England to bristle with opposition. Here again, as during the war which followed, Baptist and Separate principles supported Congregational resistance, for all three groups associated the Christian religion with ideals of political liberty. No Congregational legislature could fail to recognize the worth of Baptist and Separate churches at such a time, when the pulpit was the chief means for molding public opinion.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that a law of 1770 should have excused conscientious dissenters from attending worship in an established church, provided

⁴Franklin and Jefferson illustrated the rise of the scientific and rational spirit. Among the leaders of the period from 1750 to 1800 who strongly influenced the religious thought of Connecticut were Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790), Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), Ezra Stiles (1727-1795), Nathaniel Emmons (1745-1840), and Timothy Dwight (1752-1817). The vigor of the defense of Calvinism by Edwards and Bellamy indicated their fear of Arminianism and Arianism. Emmons attacked the presbyterial scheme of the Saybrook Platform. President Dwight of Yale vigorously opposed the separation of church and state. William E. Channing later declared that Stiles and Hopkins had great influence upon him as a youth in making the ideals of tolerance and rational inquiry after truth attractive.

they attended worship by themselves. Another measure of the same year exempted the estates of all ministers of the gospel from taxation. In 1777, Separates were exempted from taxes for the support of the established church if they could furnish proof of support of their own churches.

These concessions failed to satisfy dissenters, for they wanted not toleration but full religious liberty—that is, the abolition of the Saybrook Platform, the dissolution of the union of church and state, and the repeal of all laws in restraint of freedom of conscience and of worship. For over twenty years they had been petitioning the assembly and conducting an aggressive pamphlet warfare against the church-state system. They had pointed out the fallibility of a religion that demanded state support and employed persecuting methods. They had poured caustic invective on ministerial taxes and the fines and imprisonment meted out to dissenters, and had constantly invoked the principle, long since enunciated by Oliver Cromwell, that the state should take no notice of a man's opinions, provided he serves it faithfully. Were they now merely to receive concessions from a government which claimed the right to rescind them, when justice, as they viewed it, demanded liberty as a right?

The drive for separation of church and state went unrelentingly on, with the immediate object of the Separate attack the Saybrook Platform. Sentiment rose against the law of 1743 making that platform the only legal basis for Congregational organization; numerous individuals and churches within the establishment favored a return to the Cambridge Platform principle of the local independence of each church. In 1784, the legislature bowed before the pressure. The revision of the laws made in that year omitted mention of the Saybrook Platform from the

statute to secure the rights of conscience to Christians, and thus tacitly abrogated the platform. The Separates had won a signal victory, for their chief stumbling block was now removed, and they were free to organize under the same conditions as other Congregational churches.

At the same time, dissenters received new privileges. All dissenting churches were allowed to manage their own financial affairs with no greater amount of governmental control than that imposed on the established churches, and a wider latitude was granted newcomers to the state in the choice of church affiliation. The laws of 1784, however, still regulated the religious life of the state with great thoroughness, for the union of church and state was retained, taxes as heretofore were to be levied for the support of the clergy, and fines for the neglect of religious observances might still be imposed. More than thirty years were yet to pass before complete separation of church and state was to be achieved.

Meantime, the period immediately following the Revolution witnessed the Americanization and nationalization of two churches which were to throw their strength on the side of the Separates and dissenters in securing liberty. Both the Anglican churches and the Methodist societies organized as American institutions in 1784—a step made necessary, as independence had severed the ties binding them to the mother country. Thenceforth the Protestant Episcopal Church—a mere shadow of its prewar strength—strove to live down its Tory reputation and vigorously supported the movement to separate church and state in Connecticut. Although Francis Asbury and his co-workers had been laboring in the country with marked success for two decades, the Methodists did not appear in Connecticut until 1789. From that date onward their zeal and rapidly increasing

numerical strength were to be vital factors in the struggle for religious liberty.

The years of the French Revolution saw a reaction to conservatism in Connecticut—a mood engendered by the dying down of the wartime fervor for liberty, by the excesses of the antireligious activities of the French revolutionists, and by a series of revivals in religion that swept over the state during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth.⁵ Many, like President Dwight of Yale, were convinced that a state church was still needed for both religious and social reasons, and that the steady habits of the fathers were still appropriate.

This reaction first expressed itself in the Certificate Act of 1791 which required that dissenters' certificates for exemption from the support of the established church be henceforth signed by civil officials. Since the latter were in most cases members of established churches, and since they had the right to sign or not, according to their personal judgment as to the justification of the application, the law threatened to work hardship on many dissenters. A further attempt to discriminate in favor of the establishment was the law of 1793 to appropriate interest on money received from the sale of Connecticut's Western lands to the various denominations in such manner as the assembly might decide. Naturally, dissenters feared that the method of apportioning the funds would put them at a relative disadvantage, since most legislators were partial to the established church.

Instant opposition arose from all dissenting groups to both the Certificate Act and the law of 1793. Only six months after the passage of the former measure, it was

⁵See M. H. Mitchell, *The Great Awakening and other revivals in the religious life of Connecticut* (no. XXVI in this series), pp. 23 ff.

repealed, and another law passed to permit dissenters to write their own certificates without signature by civil officials. In 1795, the Western lands act was changed to provide that interest on receipts from the sale of Western lands should be apportioned among the school societies, thus establishing the state's permanent School Fund. Retractions like these demonstrated the persistent strength of the movement for liberty.

VI

AT the dawn of the nineteenth century, Connecticut was one of the few states that had not followed the example of the national constitution in banning religious tests for qualification to office, and in forbidding church establishments as well as in securing complete freedom of worship. Before two decades had passed, the Land of Steady Habits was to enter a new constitutional era in which church and state would be separated and complete freedom of conscience and worship guaranteed. The forces which brought this to pass were numerous and interlocked. Among them, the following deserve emphasis: the blunders of the Federalists who were the defenders of the Standing Order, the rise of democratic sentiment, the pressure of changed economic conditions, the movement to secure a new constitution, and the energetic policies and activities of the enemies of the church establishment. The achievement of religious liberty came, therefore, as one result of a general movement to secure changes of far-reaching political, constitutional, and social significance.⁶

It is conceivable that the defenders of the establishment might have staved off defeat many years longer

⁶For an extended account of the struggle for a new constitution, the reader should consult Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818* (Washington, 1918).

than they did, if their political leaders had possessed greater foresight and understanding of the temper of the times. To resist change when change is the cry of the day, or to alienate supporters, hardly betokens political acumen. The Federalists opposed the extension of democracy at a time when the sentiment was spreading wide and fast that to place the vote in the hands of the common man would solve the world's ills. They insisted upon the need of a church-state system at a time when the experiments in Virginia and elsewhere were convincing an increasing number that no violent dissolution of society would follow the separation of church and state. Probably most fatal of all, they championed an unpatriotic sectionalism in a period that saw the rise of strong nationalistic feeling.

In 1801, to instance one of their blunders, the Connecticut Federalists passed the Stand-up Act, requiring a voter to stand while declaring his choice in nominating assistants. To the person whose job or credit might depend upon his voting according to his employer's or creditor's preference, this seemed unfair and un-American. Again, during the War of 1812 the tactics of the Federalist party and of their supporters among the clergy of the established church caused their prestige to sink rapidly. The stigma that attached to the Hartford Convention could not be explained away.⁷

In the same year that the Federalists called the Hartford Convention, the assembly refused to grant the Episcopalians funds which they believed rightfully belonged to them as a result of the incorporation of the Phoenix Bank of Hartford.⁸ The Episcopalians, who had

⁷See W. E. Buckley, *The Hartford Convention* (no. XXIV in this series).

⁸See O. S. Seymour, *Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* (no. XXX in this series), pp. 21 ff., and F. Parsons, *History of banking in Connecticut* (no. XLII in this series), pp. 9-11.

hitherto continued to be supporters of the Federalist party, in spite of the legislature's refusal on four occasions since 1802 to charter Cheshire Academy as a college, now threw their strength on the side of the Republicans. To weld together such diverse groups as Episcopals and dissenters of all descriptions into the Toleration party was thus made the easier by Federalist blunders.

Democratic liberalism edged its way into conservative Connecticut in the face of bitter opposition, but by 1815 there were signs that Jeffersonianism was distinctly stronger than it had been a decade earlier. The movement for religious liberty strengthened the Republicans even as the surge of democracy carried the ideal of religious liberty forward. In holding forth the promise of an extension of the suffrage the Toleration party posed as the champion of the common man. It could hardly be expected that a party, already suffering from its stand during the War of 1812, could hold the good will of the masses by maintaining that a voter should possess "a free-hold estate to the value of seven dollars per annum, or one hundred and thirty-four dollars personal estate in the general list," when the Republicans declared that all who paid taxes, worked on the highways, or served in the militia were entitled to the vote.

Closely tied up with political liberalism were economic conditions, the significance of which the Federalists appeared not to recognize. The War of 1812 and other circumstances had fostered the growth of mills and factories. A considerable portion of the population of the state was becoming urban and industrial, and the laborers—poor, taxed, and without the vote—cried for tax relief and an extension of the suffrage. The Federalists did nothing; but the Republicans, the Toleration party, promised much in both respects.

It was difficult to hope for substantial reform under the Charter of 1662, with the Federalists dominating the government and its ally, the state church. Consequently, the reformers, during the opening decades of the century, directed their efforts largely toward securing a new constitution for the state. In so doing they crystallized a sentiment widespread ever since the Revolution that the colonial charter granted by the king had outlived its usefulness, and that the state had fallen behind constitutional progress elsewhere throughout the country. The fiery Republican, Abraham Bishop of New Haven, had used the second election of Jefferson in 1804 as an occasion to sound the cry for a new constitution, and the Republican gains in the election of that fall, particularly in Windham county, indicated the drift of sentiment in favor of such a move. More than ten years passed before the matter again became a live issue. Then, in 1815, the attack on the charter by Judge Zephaniah Swift, heretofore a staunch Federalist, revived the movement. Many, like Judge Swift and Oliver Wolcott, Jr., the latter also a Federalist, felt that there was need for a clear definition of the respective powers of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, and, finding the bulk of the Federalists hostile to change, joined the ranks of the Republicans.

The enemies of the church establishment thus had a rare opportunity to press their cause. Their votes would go to extension of the suffrage, tax reduction, and a new constitution. In return they were in a position to insist that the new order should provide for complete religious liberty. Their activities from 1800 onward had gained them the respect and loyalty of an increasing proportion of the population, thereby laying the groundwork for change. Neither the magistrates nor the people had been allowed to forget that the state-church system was a

violation of personal liberty and a crying injustice. Every year since 1802 the Baptists had sent to the assembly a petition bearing three thousand signatures in protest against the certificate law, but it had not been received by both houses of the general assembly until 1815. The Reverend John Leland, returning from Virginia shortly after disestablishment there in 1785, had for years made his voice heard in favor of separation of church and state, and in favor of securing a new constitution. In 1803, he spoke out as the representative of forty-two Baptist clergymen, twenty licensed ministers, four thousand communicants, and twenty thousand church attendants. Two newspapers, the *True republican* of Norwich and the *Windham herald*, carried the cry for reform weekly to the doors of hundreds of homes.

The close of the War of 1812 saw the beginning of the end of the Federalist régime. In 1815, the Republicans tripled their vote of the previous year and gained twenty seats in the lower house of the general assembly. The Federalists decided that a concession was due. They promptly passed a law to do away with fines for absence from church.

The following year, the Toleration party nominated Oliver Wolcott, Jr., and Jonathan Ingersoll for governor and lieutenant-governor, respectively. Both were Federalists of long standing, the latter an Episcopalian. The election seated Ingersoll; Wolcott's vote was 10,170 to 11,589 for the Federalist, John Cotton Smith. Again, the Federalists thought a concession appropriate. The act of 1816 for the support of literature and religion provided that the money owed Connecticut by the federal government for war expenses should be divided among the churches. The Congregationalists were to receive \$68,000, the Episcopalians \$20,000, the Baptists \$18,000, and the

Methodists \$12,000. The Quakers, Universalists, and other insignificant groups were not mentioned in the distribution. If the Federalists thought that their enemies could be silenced by grants of money, they were bitterly disappointed. In 1817, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists joined in denouncing the act as a political trick to buy their approval of an unjust church establishment and of forced support of religion.

The pendulum swung still farther in the election of 1817, when the Republicans seated Wolcott in the governor's chair, reëlected Ingersoll, and carried the vote for members of the lower house by a majority of two to one. Forthwith, the odious Stand-up Act was repealed, though the Federalist upper house blocked all other reform measures introduced during the year. It was a battle of despair that the defenders of the Standing Order waged. It seemed that even fate was arrayed against them, for during the year death came to their leader, Timothy Dwight, who had done more than any other during the past two decades to rally together those who believed that dire social and moral consequences would follow the separation of church and state.

VII

IN the election of 1818, the Toleration party swept all before them. On August 26, the constitutional convention met at Hartford. Fearing that the Federalist delegates, who numbered ninety-five to one hundred and five Republicans, might sidetrack the issue of religious liberty, the Baptists and Methodists resolved that no proposed constitution would receive their approval unless it provided unequivocally for separation of church and state. The Episcopalians were prompt to sanction their move.

The guarantees of religious liberty which the constitu-

tion, as submitted to the voters for ratification, contained, are well known. The first article declared:

The exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this state; provided, that the right hereby declared and established shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state.

No preference shall be given by law to any christian sect or mode of worship.

Article seven amplified these provisions by stating that . . . no person shall by law be compelled to join or support, nor be classed with, or associated to, any congregation, church, or religious association. . . . And each and every society or denomination of christians in this state, shall have and enjoy the same and equal powers, rights and privileges. . . .

The vote in the convention on September 15 on the constitution as a whole was interesting in showing that a goodly proportion of the Federalists had decided to line up for its ratification. It was one hundred and thirty-four to sixty-one. The popular vote was far closer. Of the towns only fifty-nine out of one hundred and twenty voted for ratification, while the individual votes stood 13,918 in favor, to 12,364 opposed. If it had not been for the magnanimity of many Federalist members of the convention, it seems probable that the issue would have been defeated.

The fact that the strongholds of Toleration and Republican sentiment had been in the eastern, southern, and western portions of the state is worth comment, for it indicates the close relationship between church affiliations and political allegiance. Generally speaking, the towns where the Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists were strong were to be found in the column for ratifica-

tion. Episcopalian strength lay mainly in the counties of Fairfield, New Haven, and Middlesex—the three which had the closest commercial and cultural ties with New York, where the Episcopalians were numerous. Windham and New London counties, adjacent to Baptist and Quaker Rhode Island, had long since been the scene of the Separate movement. It was there that the agitation for religious liberty under the leadership of the Baptists had made great headway. Only in Hartford, Litchfield, and Tolland counties were the Federalists able to muster sufficient Congregational votes to assure majorities against ratification. Just where the Methodists exerted the most influence it is hard to say, for their societies were scattered throughout the state.

In addition to the dissolution of the union of church and state and the breaking of the political influence of the Congregational clergy, other immediate effects of disestablishment are worth noting. The way to social, as well as legal equality for non-Congregationalists was opened. In the schools the teaching of the catechism now became optional and discrimination against the children of non-Congregationalists began to disappear. The organization of Washington (now Trinity) College in 1823 and of Wesleyan University in 1831, by the Episcopalians and Methodists respectively, was fruit of the new order that could hardly have been hoped for under the church-state system.⁹

The voluntary system, however, did not lead to the decay of religion and morality or to the host of social evils which the defenders of the Standing Order had confidently predicted would follow its establishment. On the

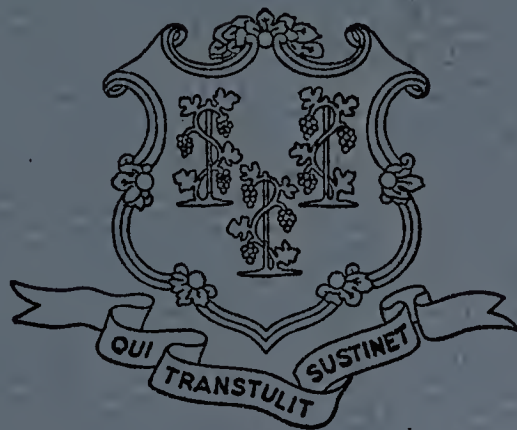
⁹For the developments under the new constitution, see J. M. Morse, *Under the Constitution of 1818: the first decade* (no. XVII in this series), and J. M. Morse, *The rise of liberalism in Connecticut, 1828-1850* (no. XVI in this series).

contrary, the new freedom had the immediate result of giving religion a new lease of life and power, and it was not long before the once ardent defenders of the old order became reconciled to the new. Since 1818, there has been no serious attempt to undo the work of the constitutional convention as far as its enactments with regard to religion are concerned.

Bibliographical Note

FOR further reading on this subject the following books are of special value: Isaac Backus, *History of New England with particular reference to the . . . Baptists* (2d edition, 2 vols., Newton, Massachusetts, 1871); Eben E. Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* (2 vols., New York, 1865-68); Silas L. Blake, *The Separates or strict Congregationalists of New England* (Boston, 1902); Maria Louise Greene, *Development of religious liberty in Connecticut* (Boston, 1905); Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818* (Washington, 1918).

TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
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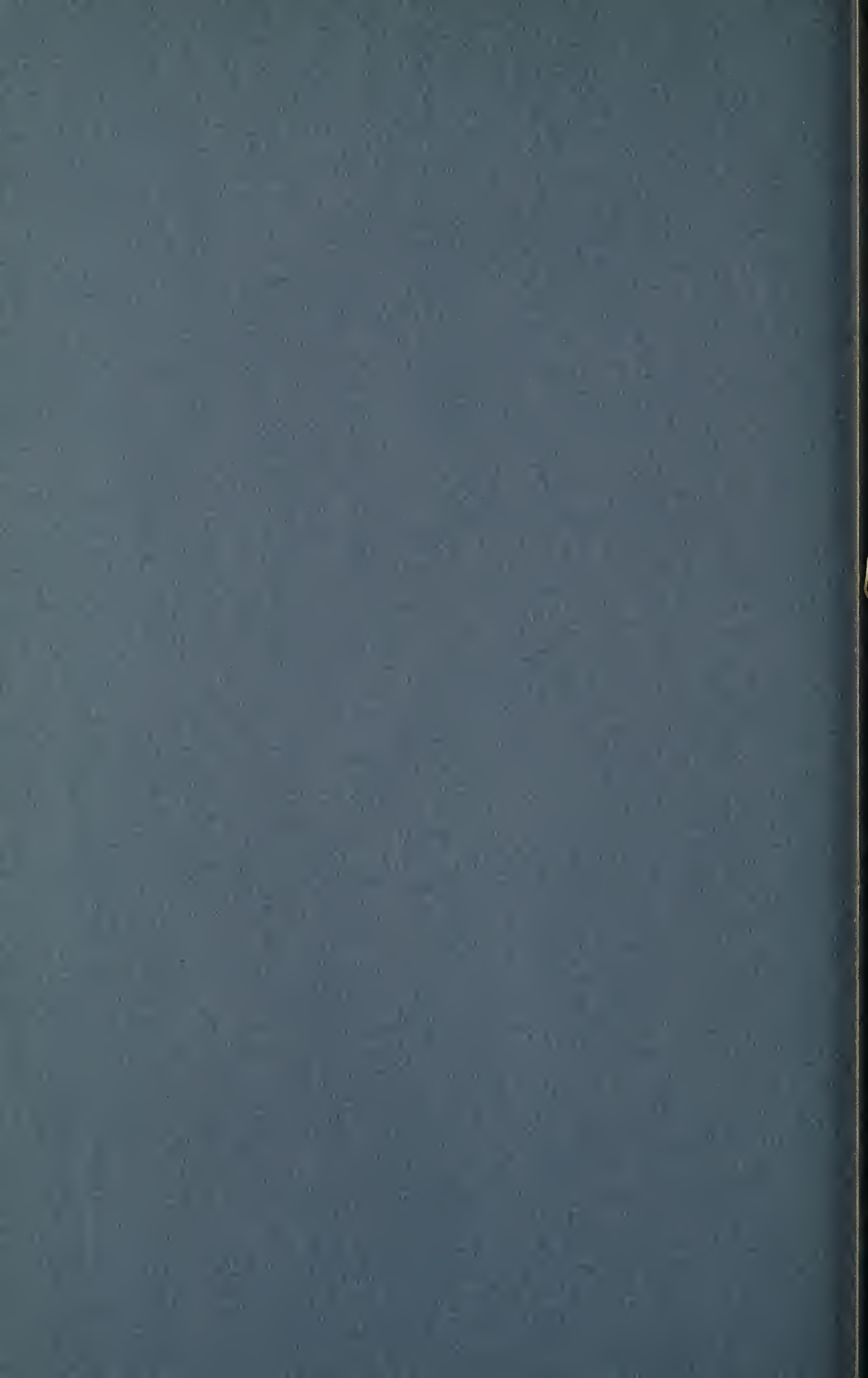


COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*The Tercentenary Pamphlet Series
and its Contributors*

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
BY THE YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1936



TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Tercentenary Pamphlet Series and its Contributors

THE Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut was created by special act number 58 passed by the general assembly in 1929, and the original members of the Commission were then appointed by Governor Trumbull. On January 27, 1931, the Commission submitted a report to the general assembly which contained a series of recommendations with regard to activities which should be undertaken in connection with the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the state. The first of the recommendations read as follows:

That from time to time, beginning as soon as practicable and continuing until the time of celebration, a series of pamphlets be issued relating to important events in the history of colony and state, and to the contributions which have been made by Connecticut, in the three hundred years of its existence, toward the welfare and progress of all peoples: and that these pamphlets, in English and in other languages, be circulated throughout our state by means of the press, and in the schools, public and private.

The general assembly of that year accepted the report, continued the Commission in existence, and made an ap-

appropriation for its work during the ensuing biennium. Similar actions were taken by the general assembly in 1933 and again in 1935. Immediately following this action the Commission appointed a Committee on Historical Publications which held its first meeting on June 2, 1931, and organized with Professor Charles M. Andrews of Yale University as chairman, and Mr. Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society as secretary. The Committee set itself promptly to the task of working out a plan for a series of pamphlet publications and of securing the coöperation of suitable contributors. Contracts were entered into with the Yale University Press for both the printing and publication of the series. The Commission and the Committee wish to extend grateful acknowledgment to the officers and staff of the Press for their helpful coöperation. Pamphlets numbered I to XXI were completed and issued under the editorship of Professor Andrews in the spring and summer of 1933. In June, 1933, Professor Andrews retired from the chairmanship of the Committee and Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University was chosen to act in his stead. Under his editorship numbers XXII to XXXIII were published in 1934, numbers XXXIV to XLVII in 1935, and the series is being completed in the opening months of 1936 with the appearance of numbers XLVIII to LX.

The series as completed does not provide an entire history of Connecticut but does include contributions to nearly every period and aspect of its history. It has been the purpose of the Committee to avoid purely local, biographical, or genealogical materials and to confine the series to topics of a general character illustrative of the development of the colony and state as a whole. In a few cases important historical documents have been reprinted or an earlier publication reissued. For most of the

pamphlets, however, the Committee has been very fortunate in securing the coöperation of competent individuals who have generously contributed their manuscripts without compensation. To each contributor and to others who have rendered assistance the Commission and the Committee express their grateful appreciation.

By action of the general assembly of 1935 the Tercentenary Commission was continued in existence until June 30, 1936, at which date all activities under its direction and all appropriations for its expenses will cease. In view of these circumstances the general assembly passed another act dealing specifically with the problem of the pamphlet series. In accordance with this act, after June 30, 1936, the State Library Committee will consider the proper methods for complying with the provisions of the act which reads as follows:

AN ACT CONCERNING CERTAIN CONTRACTS OF THE STATE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION WITH THE YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

SECTION 1. After the state tercentenary commission shall cease to exist, the contracts entered into by it with the Yale University Press for the printing, publication and distribution of a series of tercentenary historical publications shall be continued in force by the substitution of the state library committee for the state tercentenary commission in each of said contracts, and the state library committee shall have all the powers and obligations theretofore pertaining to the state tercentenary commission under said contracts, which shall thenceforth be valid and binding as between the state library committee and the Yale University Press.

SEC. 2. The state library committee shall be empowered to receive all royalties or other moneys payable under said contracts, and is directed and empowered to use and expend any moneys so received for carrying out the purposes of said contracts in printing, publishing and distributing the series of tercentenary historical publications, by issuing reprints or new editions of publications already issued or by issuing similar additional publications in the series. The state library committee is authorized to receive, use and

disburse any moneys which may be appropriated to it for said purposes or to use for said purposes any moneys appropriated to it for "books, pamphlets and documents."

SEC. 3. The historian of the tercentenary commission shall, after said commission shall cease to exist, serve under direction of the state library committee as state historian for the purpose of carrying out the contracts with the Yale University Press and the provisions of this act. The state library committee may also request and authorize the state historian to furnish it with such advice, assistance or service as an historical expert as it may find necessary or expedient. In case of the death, resignation, removal or incapacity of the said historian, the state library committee is empowered and directed to appoint a competent historical scholar in his stead. The tenure of the said state historian shall be at the discretion of the state library committee, and he shall serve without salary or compensation from the state, except for necessary expenses approved by the state library committee and payable out of funds at its disposal.

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*Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

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COWIE, ALEXANDER. Born in St. Paul, Minn., 1896. A.B., Minnesota, 1919; A.M., 1920; Ph.D., Yale, 1930. Assistant professor of English, Wesleyan University, since 1927; author of *John Trumbull: Connecticut wit*, and contributor to various reviews. Residence, Middletown. Pamphlet LV.

*DAY, CLIVE. Born in Hartford, Conn., 1871. A.B., Yale, 1892; Ph.D., 1899. Joined Yale faculty in 1899; Professor of economic history, Yale, since 1907; member of various historical societies and author of various works, mainly in the field of economic history. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XLIV.

DEMING, DOROTHY. Born in New Haven, Conn., 1893. A.B., Vassar, 1914. Graduate student, Yale and Teachers' College, Columbia; with National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City, 1921-1930; Editor of *Public health nursing* since 1930; author of numerous articles on public health. Residence, Allwood, N.J. Pamphlets VI, VII.

*DUTCHER, GEORGE MATTHEW. *See above*, Historian of Commission and Chairman of Committee. Pamphlets VIII, XX, XXIX.

*ERVING, HENRY WOOD. Born in Westfield, Mass., 1851. Educated Connecticut Literary Institution, Suffield. Honorary A.M., Trinity, 1926. In banking business in Hartford since 1870;

*Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

Vice-President, Connecticut River Banking Co., since 1919; member of various historical and patriotic societies; collector of early New England furniture and china and author of many articles on those subjects. Residence, Hartford. Pamphlets IX, XXII.

*FISHER, SAMUEL HERBERT. *See above*, Chairman of Commission and Member of Committee. Pamphlet XXI.

*GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY. Born in Greeley, Colo., 1880. A.B., University of Idaho, 1903; A.B. with honors in history, Oxford, 1907; Ph.D., Yale, 1918. Professor of history, College of Idaho, 1907-1910; Wabash College, 1911-1924; Lehigh University since 1924; author of historical works, especially relating to Connecticut. Residence, Center Valley, Penn. Pamphlet X.

*HICKS, FREDERICK CHARLES. Born in Auburn, N.Y., 1875. Ph.B.; Colgate University, 1898; LL.B., Georgetown, 1901; A.M., Brown, 1907; Yale, 1928; Litt.D., Colgate, 1922. Library of Congress, 1898-1904; Librarian, United States Naval War College, Newport, R.I., 1905-1908; in Columbia University Library, 1910-1915; Law Library in Columbia University, 1915-1928; Yale University Law Librarian since 1928 and Professor of law at Yale since 1929; author and editor of numerous works, especially in the field of law. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XXXIX.

HOOKE, ROLAND MATHER. *See above*, Member of Committee. Pamphlets XI, XXV, L.

HOOPES, PENROSE ROBINSON. Born in St. Davids, Penn., 1892. Educated at Pennsylvania State College. Engaged in engineering work, specializing on factory equipment; inventor of numerous automatic machines; author of *Connecticut clock-makers of the eighteenth century* and of numerous articles on engineering topics; for some years a resident of Connecticut. Residence, Philadelphia, Penn. Pamphlets XXIII, LIII.

JOHNSON, FRANCES HALL. Born in Hartford, Conn. Educated in private schools; studied music in Hartford, Boston, Vienna, Munich, Paris, and London. For many years private teacher of music in Hartford; one of the founders and president of the Musical Club and secretary of the Philharmonic Orchestra Society, Hartford; author of *Musical memories of Hartford*. Residence, Hartford. Pamphlet XXVII.

KELLY, J. FREDERICK. Born in Lowville, N.Y., 1888. B.F.A., Yale, 1915; studied architecture in Paris. Senior member,

*Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

Kelly and Kelly, architects; Member of American Institute of Architecture; author of *Early Connecticut architecture*, of *Early domestic architecture of Connecticut*, and of numerous articles on early American architecture. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XII.

LABAREE, LEONARD WOODS. Born of American parents in Urumia, Persia, 1897. A.B., Williams, 1919; Ph.D., Yale, 1926. Assistant professor of history, Yale, since 1924; Visiting Carnegie professor, University of Durham (England), 1929-1930; author of *Royal government in America*. Residence, Hamden. Pamphlet XIII.

LATHROP, WILLIAM GILBERT. Born in Providence, R.I., 1865. A.B., Brown, 1889; B.D., Yale, 1892; A.M., 1905; Ph.D., 1909. In Congregational ministry since 1892; Minister of Congregational Church, Mount Carmel, Conn., 1916-1935; Secretary of New Haven Council of Churches; Director of Connecticut Council of Churches; author of *The brass industry in Connecticut* and of *The brass industry in the United States*. Residence, Mount Carmel. Pamphlet XLIX.

MCDONALD, ADRIAN FRANCIS. Born in East Hampton, Conn., 1907. A.B., Wesleyan, 1927; A.M., 1933. Employed in Connecticut Agency of Home Owners' Loan Corporation; author of master's thesis on *The tariff on wrapper tobacco, with special reference to the Connecticut Valley*. Residence, Portland. Pamphlet LII.

*MARBLE, ANNIE RUSSELL (Mrs. Charles F. Marble). Born in Worcester, Mass., 1864. A.B., Smith College, 1886; A.M., 1895. Author of *Heralds of American literature* and of numerous other works mainly on literary subjects. Residence, Worcester, Mass. Pamphlet LIX.

MITCHELL, ISABEL S. A.B., Maryville College; A.M., Yale, 1923. Teacher of history, New Haven High School. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XIV.

MITCHELL, MARY HEWITT (Mrs. Sydney Knox Mitchell). A.B., Smith College, 1897; Ph.D., Yale, 1901. Professor of history, Lake Erie College, 1906-1909; contributor to various historical publications. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XXVI.

MOORE, Mrs. MABEL ROBERTS. Student of early Connecticut history and of colonial arts and crafts and has written extensively on these topics; member of various patriotic and women's organizations. Residence, Hartford. Pamphlet XV.

MORROW, RISING LAKE. Born in West Pawlet, Vt., 1901. A.B.,

*Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

- Wesleyan, 1923; A.M., Harvard, 1925; Ph.D., 1932. Instructor in history and government, Wesleyan University, 1926-1930; Assistant professor of history since 1935, University of Maine. Residence, Orono, Me. Pamphlet LVIII.
- MORSE, JARVIS MEANS. Born in Windsor Locks, Conn., 1899. A.B., Yale, 1922; Ph.D., 1930. Since 1933, Assistant professor of history, Brown University; Rhode Island State Director of the American Guide since 1935; author of *A neglected period of Connecticut's history, 1818-1850*, and of other writings in American history. Residence, Providence, R.I. Pamphlets XVI, XVII, XXXVI.
- MUNICH, AUSTIN FRANCIS. Born in Bridgeport, Conn., 1899. Ph.B., St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N.Y. Ordained to the priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church, 1926; Superintendent of Parochial Schools in the Diocese of Hartford since 1929. Residence, Bloomfield. Pamphlet XLI.
- OLSON, ALBERT LAVERNE. A.B., Augustana College, 1924; A.M., Northwestern, 1930; Ph.D., Yale, 1934. Instructor in American history, New Haven Community College, 1934-1935. Residence, Rock Island, Ill. Pamphlet XL.
- *PARSONS, FRANCIS. Born in Hartford, Conn., 1871. A.B., Yale, 1893; LL.B., 1897; A.M., 1925. Practised law in Hartford, 1897-1904; Second Vice-President, Security Company, Hartford, 1904-1923; Director and Vice-Chairman of the Board, Hartford National Bank and Trust Company, 1923-1934; director of other corporations; active in various municipal and civic organizations; Member of State Commission of Sculpture; author of works on American literary history. Residence, Hartford. Pamphlet XLII.
- *PECK, EPAPHRODITUS. Born in Bristol, Conn., 1860. LL.B., Yale, 1881. Began practice of law in Bristol, 1882; Associate Judge, Hartford County Court of Common Pleas, 1897-1912; Instructor, Yale Law School, 1903-1913; Representative in Connecticut legislature since 1925; author of *History of Bristol*, and of various other historical and legal works. Residence, Bristol. Pamphlet XXXI.
- PORTER, NOAH. Born in Farmington, Conn., 1811. A.B., Yale, 1831. Professor of moral philosophy and metaphysics, Yale, 1846-1886; President, Yale, 1871-1886; author of many works on philosophical and other subjects. Died, 1892. (See *Dictionary of American biography*.) Pamphlet XVIII.
- *ROE, JOSEPH WICKHAM. Born in Geneva, N.Y., 1871. Ph.B.,
- *Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

Yale, 1895. Professor of industrial engineering, New York University; member of numerous engineering societies; author of many works in the field of engineering. Residence, New York City and Southport. Pamphlet XXXIII.

*ROSENBERRY, LOIS CARTER KIMBALL MATTHEWS (Mrs. Marvin Bristol Rosenberry). Born in Cresco, Iowa, 1873. A.B., Stanford University, 1903; Ph.D., Radcliffe College, 1906; Litt.D., Lawrence College, 1930. Instructor in history, Vassar College, 1906-1910; Associate professor of history, Wellesley College, 1910-1911; Associate professor of history and Dean of women, University of Wisconsin, 1911-1919; author, *Expansion of New England*, and various other books and articles. Residence, Madison, Wisconsin. Pamphlets XXVIII, LIV.

SEYMOUR, MABEL. Born in St. Paul, Minn., 1883. A.B., Macalester College, 1926; A.M., University of Minnesota, 1927; Ph.D., Yale, 1930. Contributor to various reviews. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XLVII.

SEYMOUR, ORIGEN STORRS. Born in Bridgeport, Conn., 1872. A.B., Yale, 1894; LL.B., 1896; M.L., 1897. Member of the bar in Connecticut and New York; senior member of firm of Sprague, Seymour and Sprague; Chancellor of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut; director of various corporations; member and officer of various religious and other organizations; author of articles on church history and canon law. Residence, Litchfield. Pamphlet XXX.

SPIESS, MATHIAS. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y. Engaged in tobacco business in Manchester, Conn., since 1896; author of *History of Manchester* and of various books and articles on the Indians and the early history of Connecticut. Residence, Manchester. Pamphlet XIX.

SQUIRE, WILLIAM WALTER THOMAS. Born in New Britain, Conn., 1890. Educated at Colgate University; officer in the Air Service during the World War; Deputy in charge of the Division of Adult Welfare, Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, and Secretary of the Public Welfare Council of Connecticut. Residence, New Britain. Pamphlet LVII.

STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT OF CONNECTICUT, STAFF OF. Pamphlet XLVI.

*WELCH, ARCHIBALD ASHLEY. Born in Hartford, Conn., 1859. A.B., Yale, 1882; A.M., Trinity, 1922. Became actuary, Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1890, and its president in 1924; President, Hartford School of Music; Vice-President, Ameri-

*Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

can School for the Deaf, and connected with other civic undertakings, and director of various corporations. Died May 8, 1935. Pamphlet XLIII.

WELD, RALPH FOSTER. Born in Bennington, Vt., 1888. B.S., Wesleyan, 1913; A.M., 1924. Teacher of history, Middletown High School since 1921; member of various historical societies; now completing thesis for degree of Ph.D. at Columbia. Residence, Middletown. Pamphlet XXXVII.

WELLES, LEMUEL AIKEN. Born in Newington, Conn., 1870. A.B., Yale, 1893; A.M., 1895; LL.B., University of the State of New York, 1896. Member of the bar in New York and of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States; for many years associated with the American Can Co.; member of various historical societies; author of *History of the Regicides in New England* and of numerous articles on New England history. Residence, Ridgefield. Pamphlet XXXV.

*WILLIAMS, STANLEY THOMAS. Born in Meriden, Conn., 1888. A.B., Yale, 1911; A.M., 1914; Ph.D., 1915. Member of Yale faculty since 1915; Professor of English since 1932; author and editor of numerous literary works. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet LI.

*WITHINGTON, SIDNEY. Born in Roxbury, Mass., 1884. A.B., Harvard, 1906; B.S., 1907. In electrical engineering department of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Co., since 1910; member of various electrical engineering societies and commissions. Residence, New Haven. Pamphlet XLV.

*Fuller biographical sketch in *Who's who in America*, vol. 18, 1934-1935.

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